

THE SOCIALIZATION AND EDUCATION OF
PAKISTANI TEENAGE GIRLS IN LONDON

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis attempts to discover and explain the processes generating the 'cultural synthesis' that appears to be characterising the ideas and behaviour of Pakistani teenage girls in London - a synthesis that is a blend of traditional Pakistani ideas and modern British ones. It is suggested that the processes of learning i.e. socialization and education, produce this cultural synthesis.

Chapter One sets out the problem and advances four propositions which might be employed to analyse and resolve it. The dialectical nature of the relationships between ideas and behaviour and between education and socialization is examined.

Chapters Two, Three and Four deal with the ethnography. Chapter Two describes the fieldwork, the universe of study and the social background, migration and settlement patterns of adult 'first-generation' Pakistanis in London.

Chapter Three describes the behaviour of teenage girls in South London, their relationships with parents, kin and peers, and the genesis and resolution of intergenerational conflict.

Chapter Four describes the girls' ideas and values and examines the importance of concepts of ethnicity and identity.

Chapter Five analyses the ethnographic data within the context of the theoretical framework and its four central propositions as advanced in Chapter One.

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CHAPTER ONE

LEARNING AND SOCIAL CHANGE:

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN IDEAS AND ACTION

Researchers working on South Asian Youth in Britain have reported the emergence of a 'synthetic' culture characterising the lives of their informants, an intermingling of traditional South Asian values and modern British ones. Ballard (1979, 128), for example, comments:

The notion that young Asians are likely to 'suffer from culture conflict' is a gross over-simplification of a wide range of complex personal experiences. It assumes a straightforward clash, a tug of war, between East and West, traditional and modern, rural and urban, repression and freedom, resulting in an unbridgeable gulf between the generations. In reality, young Asians are not faced with an either/or situation. They have difficult dilemmas to resolve and in resolving them they work towards their own synthesis of Asian and British values.

Brah (1978, 206) reaches a similar conclusion in her report on Asian youth in Southall:

The data suggest continuity as well as change in their emerging belief system. While the influence of the value systems derived from the country of origin remain significant, there is at the same time evidence of incipient trends which suggest the emergence of new patterns of social interaction and changing norms.

Khan (1972, 12) suggests that South Asian youth are re-defining their cultural values:

They are reformulating the traditional, as presented by their parents' generation, to adjust to their new environment, and they are increasingly demonstrating that they do not want to be culturally 'integrated' in terms laid down by the majority.

Whilst there is an increasing wealth of information from both academic and non-academic sources on the form that this emerging cultural synthesis is taking and its practical application in individual and group encounters, there is little or no detailed anthropological analysis on the processes

generating this form, beyond the statement that it arises from the individual experiences of Asian youth.

The problem, then, that this thesis seeks to resolve is, what are the processes generating the 'synthetic culture' that appears to be characterising the lives of Pakistani teenage girls in South London?

Brah (op.cit.) notes that 'change' in the lives of Asian youth is "apparent more strongly at the level of belief than professed practice". Pakistani teenage girls in London also exhibit a strong disjunction between their ideas and their behaviour and this will be fully described in a later chapter. However, what is important here is that this disjunction does not appear to be causing major social disorder or familial disharmony. Rather it appears to be producing the kind of socio-cultural 'change-within-continuity' so typical of modern South Asian society, indeed if not of all rapidly changing 'traditional' societies. Four propositions are suggested to explain why this should be so, and this chapter examines each in turn with a view to establishing a theoretical framework for the analysis of the empirical data presented in subsequent chapters - a framework which seeks to explain the processes which generate socio-cultural change and continuity in the lives of 'young people' in situations of culture-contact.

1. Ideas and Behaviour

Proposition 1.

Disjunctions between ideas and behaviour are not symptomatic of impending social disorder or anarchy, but are existential to all human societies. The 'natural state' of society is characterised by a trend toward imbalance and movement rather than toward equilibrium and stability. People 'manage' disjunctions by distinguishing between what they believe they ought to be doing ('ideological conscious model') and what they believe they are doing ('immediate conscious model').

One of the central themes of anthropological debate in recent years has focussed on the relationship between systems of thought and systems of action and between the anthropologist's perception of social reality

and the 'folk' conception held by the people he studies. Beattie (1964, 62) has referred to it as "one of social anthropology's most crucial problems, to which in the nature of the case there is no parallel in the natural sciences." To deal adequately with the current problem it is necessary to trace the development of anthropological enquiry especially in its concern with and treatment of the concepts of structure, culture, model and social reality.

The Structural-Functionalists

The 'holistic' approach of the structural-functionalist school of anthropology has, on the whole, tended to obscure or ignore the independent importance of systems of thought and ideas by functionally relating them to systems of action. The argument has focussed on the primary of norms versus activity, a sort of 'chicken-and-egg' argument, a treatment which has resulted in an emphasis on the 'equilibrium' model of society which assumes a homology between norms and activity, or at the very least, a strain towards consistency. Where there appears to be a disjunction between norms and activity, the society in question is regarded as being in a state of flux and disorder. Such an approach owes much to the ideas of Durkheim, Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown.

It is Durkheim who introduces us to the 'organic' view of society (1938, 102-104). A society is more than merely a sum of its components. Like a physical organism its parts are related to one another in accordance with certain laws, similar to the laws of nature, which operate to maintain the whole structure in equilibrium and which in fact exist solely for that very purpose.

Durkheim asks us to "consider social facts as things" (1938, 14). The implication of this axiom is that it establishes the transcendent nature and autonomy of society as opposed to the individual. Social

facts are embedded in the individual mind but they emanate from society. They are prior to the individual: they existed before he was born and will endure after his death.

Indeed the most important characteristic of a 'thing' is the impossibility of its modification by a simple effort of will... Far from being a product of the will they [social facts] determine it from without; they are like moulds in which our actions are inevitably shaped (Durkheim 1938, 28-29).

Social facts are both external and coercive. They represent the moral order which governs activity: the 'conscience collective' or 'collective representations' of society. Durkheim's sociological determinism thus leads him to establish the primacy of norm over activity.

In his zeal to emulate the methods of the 'exact sciences', Durkheim probably overdramatized the 'reality' of the social realm and left himself open to the charge of attributing a metaphysical reality to social phenomena (Kardiner and Preble 1962, 116).

Durkheim's reification of society is particularly apparent in his work on religion. Religion is regarded as a social fact arising out of the nature of society itself. It is the way in which society sees itself in collectivity and by which it maintains its solidarity and continuity. In the case of the Australian aborigines, for example, clan totems symbolise God and society; in fact, God is society.

Basing his theory of religion on a structurally very simple society, where the clan is a major subdivision, and where there are no religious leaders or functionaries, reinforced Durkheim's defined tendency to speak of 'society' as a homogenous entity. In the whole of Durkheim's writings, he nowhere confronts the possibility that religious beliefs are ideologies, which help legitimate the domination of some groups over others (Giddens 1978, 103-104).

Durkheim goes even further in his reification of society when he argues that forms of thought are related to forms of society and that all knowledge arises from an accumulation of man's experience.

In arguing thus, he went too far, since the operations of the mind and the laws of logic are not determined by, or given in, experience, even in social experience. No

account of relations between features of a society and the ideas and beliefs of its members could ever explain the faculty, or the ability, of the latter to think spatially and temporally, to classify material objects and to individuate persons, to think causally and, in general, to reason; nor could it ever show that the necessity, or indispensability, of doing all these things was simply an aspect of social authority (Lukes 1973, 447).

It would be a mistake, then, to assume that the Durkheimian concern with norms shows a concern with systems of thought and ideas in their own right. In fact, the reverse is the case. Norms and ideas are relevant only insofar as they govern activity and maintain society in equilibrium.

The notion that society could be conceptualized as a system of groups chronically in tension is foreign to his viewpoint, which treats societies as unified wholes ... Conflict or division of interest between groups is treated only as a phenomenon of transitional phases in social development, in which the alignment of functions is temporarily out of equilibrium. In Durkheim's writing, religious prescriptions, and moral norms more generally, are discussed as if they were capable of only one mode of interpretation by the members of society. But a single set of symbols and codes, such as those involved in Christian dogma can, and ordinarily do, become the subject of variant and antagonistic interpretations, likely to be tied in to the struggles of divergent interest groups (Giddens 1978, 105-106).

Beattie has pointed out that the legacy of Durkheim and the *Année* school of French sociology has been the emphasis in British anthropology on

the analysis of social systems as systems of action, that is, in causal terms ... The key which opened the door to the systematic understanding of the simpler, 'primitive' societies was the organic analogy, which derived from French sociology. And the functioning of organisms, like the working of machines, makes sense without any reference to the states of mind (if any) of their constituent parts ... The theoretical models most characteristic of modern social anthropology have been those which take societies as systems of action, and which either explicitly or implicitly invoke the organic analogy (Beattie 1964, 49-50).

The organic analogy also finds expression in Malinowski's functionalism. For Malinowski, cultures are integrated wholes which must not be torn apart for the purposes of comparative study. Cultures form wholes and 'hang together' because they are working units; every custom or institution exists

to fulfil a single purpose: the satisfaction of Man's biological and 'culturally derived' needs. Thus aspects of Culture cannot be studied in isolation; they must be understood in the context of their use. While the drawbacks of a theory based on such crude reductionism are fairly obvious (see below), Malinowski does go on to make an important observation: people say one thing and do another. In order to understand the nature of social reality, therefore, the anthropologist cannot at all rely on the actor's perception of rules and norms, for man is constantly manipulating these to serve his best interests. In the phraseology of the 'primacy-of-norm-versus-action' argument, what Malinowski is doing is turning Durkheim on his head: norms do not govern behaviour, nor are they prior to the individual. They exist because man's activity demands them to exist; because they are necessary in providing a framework for co-operation within which man can fulfil his needs. Thus, for example, magico-religious rites serve a legitimating function and ensure the minimum of necessary co-operation to provide a plan for the realisation of a task. But co-operation is not an end in itself. Man is self-seeking and co-operates only as a form of enlightened self-interest. Such ideas were to be the catalyst for the work of the 'action theorists' of the 1960's who emphasised the principles of 'rational choice' and 'reciprocity' as the basis of their 'transactional analysis'.

Malinowski's approach is ultimately reductionist and lays itself open to some justifiable criticism on that score. In the first place it appears to lack theoretical profundities and subtleties: "The functionalist method which he so strenuously championed amounted, in fact, to little more than acknowledging that every custom or institution, however strange and bizarre, served some contemporary purpose" (Lewis 1976, 55). Secondly, as Richards (1957, 19) has pointed out, it has resulted in

some far-fetched explanations reached in the effort to explain and even idealize primitive institutions. If sex license existed, for instance, it must be proved

to be sociologically or biologically useful; yet no one has checked Malinowski's hypothesis that pre-nuptial license provides the best way of selecting a satisfactory mate and leads to the most enduring marriages.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the functionalist approach finds difficulty in offering a plausible explanation for the existence of religion and art. Malinowski's argument that these could be understood in the context of their integrative contribution to man's social existence is not entirely satisfactory.

Malinowski's savage has no time for philosophy. For him, culturally defined behaviour is concerned only with doing things, not with saying or thinking. But surely all Culture (both verbal and non-verbal) is also concerned with 'making statements' about the social order? In many ritual contexts non-verbal symbolic communication seems to be an end in itself quite independent of the practical-technical outcome (the 'pragmatic function'). Persistently right through his work Malinowski manages to minimize the significance of this aspect of social behaviour (Leach 1957, 133).

In an assessment of Malinowski's method, Kuper notes:

Malinowski's emphasis was all on the individual and his goals. The advantages of this emphasis were great, but the price was a failure to treat beliefs, or kinship, as systems in themselves. As others have shown, systems of belief and ritual do form integrated wholes, and (turning Malinowski's rhetoric against himself) they could not be understood simply by tearing out elements and showing that these had a function (Kuper 1973, 43).

Radcliffe-Brown, steeped in the Durkheimian tradition, also invokes the organic analogy and, in fact, takes it a step further: Societies are like organisms and therefore should be studied by the methods of the natural sciences. "I conceive of social anthropology as the theoretical natural science of human society, that is, the investigation of social phenomena by methods essentially similar to those used in the physical and biological sciences" (Radcliffe-Brown 1952, 188). He is critical of Malinowski's emphasis on the individual, self-interested, need-fulfilling man. Anthropological enquiry, he feels, should be "concerned not with biological functions but with social functions, not with the abstract

biological 'individual' but with the concrete 'persons' of a particular society" (Radcliffe-Brown 1946, 40). For Radcliffe-Brown, the object of study is the 'social structure': 'the network of actually existing relations.' The social structure is not an abstraction; it is directly observable and 'real'. But while what the anthropologist observes is the social structure, what he describes is the 'structural form', that is, 'the general or normal form' of relationships 'abstracted from variations of particular instances' (1952, 192). The structural form is explicit in norms or 'social usages' (which correspond to Durkheim's 'social facts') though once again these are not deduced by the anthropologist, but observed in what people say about the rules of their society and what they do about them. Although the social structure is constantly changing (through births, marriages, deaths), the structural form is comparatively stable. The stability of the structural form depends upon the harmonious integration of its parts performing the function of maintaining the solidarity and cohesion of the social system.

The basic need of all societies, then, is 'co-aptation', the mutual adjustment of the interests of all members of society, achieved through the standardisation of beliefs and sentiments which are kept alive through ritual and symbolic activity. This is essentially an equilibrium model. The necessary condition of continued existence of a society is a

certain degree of functional consistency amongst the constituent parts of the social system. ... Functional inconsistency exists whenever two aspects of the social system produce a conflict which can only be resolved by some change in the system itself. It is always the question of the functioning, i.e. the working of the system as a whole (Radcliffe-Brown 1952, 43).

Perhaps the greatest weakness of Radcliffe-Brown's argument lies in his insistence on according phenomenological reality to the social structure. This stems directly from his belief that anthropological investigation must be conducted on the same level of enquiry as the natural sciences using similar methods and techniques. His rigorous empiricist stand has

contributed much to modern anthropological thinking, especially in its emphasis on the group as opposed to the individual; but it fails at one very basic level because it relies too heavily on the organic analogy. Social structures are not real; they are abstractions.

Structure is built up by the analyst on the basis of data, but it is itself not a datum but a construct.... When we speak of social structures ... we are using models, not talking about concrete things. And the validity of scientific models depends not on their 'truth' (in the sense of their exact correspondence with some unknowable 'reality') but rather on their usefulness or strategic value in making sense of the given, in facilitating comparison, and in leading to new knowledge (Beattie 1964, 61).

Radcliffe-Brown's concept of social structure is far too broad to be analytically useful. The tragedy of Radcliffe-Brown's contribution to theory, Harris points out, is that "the 'laws' which he produced were distinguished by their weakness, their low capacity for prediction and retrodiction, and their vapidness" (Harris 1968, 524).

Radcliffe-Brown's functionalism is not as far removed from Malinowski's as he would have liked to believe. For both men 'culture' or 'social usages' (norms) exist only to fulfil the needs of either individual or collective Man. Both men regard systems of thought and ideas as functionally related to systems of action, and both treat the former as the secondary area of anthropological enquiry.

A review of the structural-functionalist approach reveals certain characteristic features. The most fundamental of these is the reliance on the organic analogy which, though it proved useful at the time in focussing attention on the idea of society as an integrated whole to be studied in its totality, fails because the organic premise is essentially reductionist. It leads to the ideas that the parts or institutions of society are functionally related; that there are 'self-adjusting and self-regulating mechanisms' within the structure of society that serve to enhance harmony, solidarity and cohesion and that maintain society in equilibrium; that

ideas are functionally related to action, either governing it or being reinforced by it, or both; that there is a consistency between ideas and action or, at the very least, a 'strain towards consistency'; that although certain forms of conflict are institutionalised within society and serve a social function, any serious or ongoing disjunction between the various institutions of society is symptomatic of an impending breakdown and radical reconstitution of the existing social system.

Harris (1968, 516) has suggested that it would be a mistake to assume that the structural-functionalists were unaware of the occurrence of internal conflict and dissension. "But they were not prepared to accept such conflict as a normal, or fundamental, aspect of the human condition". The reason for this was a political one.

In theory, there was nothing to prevent Radcliffe-Brown and his students from exposing and emphasizing the lack of solidarity and cohesion in the larger societies which they were studying. But the argument for heuristic advantage must be placed in the actual research context in which the theory of structural-functionalist ethnography was put to the test. Between 1930 and 1955 the overwhelming bulk of the contribution of the structural functionalist school was based upon fieldwork in African tribal societies located in European, especially British, territories. Under such circumstances it is impossible not to draw a connection between the proposal to study social systems as if they were solidary and as if they were timeless, with sponsorship, employment, and indirect association of the members of this school by and with a now defunct colonial system (Harris op.cit.)

Considered in these terms, the aim of the structural-functionalist approach was "to provide a scientific rationalization of the status quo, especially in reference to the British policy of indirect rule" (ibid., 517).

An equilibrium model is an unsatisfactory device for explaining social change for, as later ethnographers have noted, many societies (especially those in situations of culture contact) are far from being harmoniously integrated 'wholes'. It may be suggested, then, that the 'natural' state of societies is not equilibrium or 'homeostasis', but progress and change; that the tendency is not towards stability, but towards imbalance and movement; that contradictions or disjunctions between ideology and behaviour

are not signs of social malaise or symptoms of revolution, but are existential to humanity. "We can no longer be satisfied with attempting to set up a typology of fixed systems. We must recognise that few if any of the societies which a modern fieldworker can study show any marked tendency towards stability" (Leach 1954, 285).

The Structuralists

There are three fundamental levels of anthropological enquiry: What do people actually do? what do they think about what they are doing? and what do they think they ought to be doing? The structural-functionalist approach all too often tended to confuse and obscure these three separate levels of analysis for, as Beattie has pointed out,

If a human community is regarded primarily in its dimension as a system of action rather than a system of ideas and symbols, then the distinction between the analytical system and the 'folk' system is unlikely to command much attention, any more than it does in the study of other causal systems, like biological or mechanical ones (Beattie 1964, 63).

The positivism of the structural-functionalists assumed a homology, if not unity, between the phenomenology of the mind and that of the world external to it. Human thought fitted neatly into an environment that had in turn moulded it. "Mind and society marched to the same drummer, and the task of the social scientist was to record this common beat" (Murphy 1972, 85). Murphy points out that

The crux of the issue is whether man possesses some degree of autonomy from society. The proponents of the anti-positivistic view operate on the premise that he does, that the human mind everywhere has certain properties that are either innate or due to the existential similarities of the human experience. The relationship between mind, or the totality of psychic life, and the society is not, then, unilaterally causal, but is one of interplay and conflict. In this oppositional setting, neither mind nor society emerges wholly victorious, for each is the product of the struggle and neither is completely reducible to the other. Social life is not a mechanism, or even an organism, but a dialectic (idem.)

In the best tradition of anti-positivism Lévi-Strauss incorporates

Hegelian dialectics with the Freudian notion of the universal psyche to arrive at a new method of structural analysis. "The term 'social structure'" he emphatically points out, "has nothing to do with empirical reality but with models which are built up after it" (Lévi-Strauss 1963, 279). Radcliffe-Brown failed to recognise this and even though he distinguished between 'social structure' and 'structural form' (what Lévi-Strauss would call structure), his insistence on according empirical reality to the former had a severely limiting influence on his method of analysis. The distinction between model and reality is a crucial issue in Lévi-Strauss's concept of structure. What the anthropologist observes as empirical reality is what Lévi-Strauss refers to as 'praxis': sheer matter and content; raw action. What the anthropologist describes, however, are 'practices', the transformation of praxis into something that can be conceived, perceived, delineated and ordered, and it is from this that structure is abstracted. It is the mind that performs this transformation from praxis to practice, structuring activity, unifying form and content and yielding ordered cultural behaviour. "In real life, of course, form and content, or mind and 'praxis' are not found apart, but this is the root of the matter. Neither can be given priority because they are a dialectical unity" (Murphy 1972, 186).

There are, then, two levels of analysis and two models of society that are the legitimate concern of anthropologists. In the first place, there are the informants' own models of their society, what Lévi-Strauss calls the 'conscious' models. These models, "which are otherwise known as 'norms', are by definition very poor ones, since they are not intended to explain the phenomena but to perpetuate them" (Lévi-Strauss 1963, 281). However it is important to take account of conscious models for two reasons: "First, these models might prove to be accurate or, at least, to provide some insight into the structure of the phenomena... And, second, even if the models are biased or erroneous, the very bias and type of error are

a part of the facts under study and probably rank among the most significant ones" (*ibid.*, 282). 'Primitive' men are just as much 'rationalisers' as modern men. They are not slaves to custom and tradition, but are thinking and self-interested, attempting at certain points to 'psyche' the system. This self-involvement leads to the distortion of the conscious model.

The conscious model functions to perpetuate the system of social relationships, and it does so by simplification, by partial falsification, and by obscuring the inconsistencies and contradictions of actual social life. The conscious model patches up the untidiness of society and produces the appearance of order. It also reduces the flux of social life to objective categories and thus makes it thinkable. As such, conscious models present a limited and finite view of reality which may produce truncation and inversion as easily as replication. The anthropologist's task is to reach beyond this screen to infrastructures that are at once explanatory of both the culture, including the conscious model, and the system of social action (Murphy 1972, 110).

Lévi-Strauss warns that the conscious models, important as they are, are not of themselves structures, and must not (as Durkheim and Mauss may be accused of doing) be elevated above their station.

The second model to be abstracted is the 'Unconscious' model which is the observer's model. It is from this that the structures of society are derived. To arrive at the unconscious model, it is necessary to distinguish two further categories or levels of model: the 'mechanical' model and the 'statistical' model. The mechanical model corresponds to the conscious model described above; to norms and jural groupings; to the practices of society. The statistical model consists of a statistical summary of the raw phenomena, the praxis of social life. It is by casting the mechanical model against the statistical model that we arrive at the unconscious model, at the structures of society. (Lévi-Strauss further goes on to develop the theme that the infrastructures of society correspond to the infrastructures of the mind, but this is beyond the scope of the present argument).

Essential to this entire enterprise is the basic contradiction between idea and act, between the mechanical model derived from the informants and the statistical model generated out of the actual observation of behaviour, the data of encounters. The structures explain both norm and activity by transcending them, but it is impossible to derive the deeper structure without taking both into meticulous account. Structuralism is, therefore, the quintessential dialectical exercise. It dissolves an apparent unity (i.e. of concept and activity) into opposed elements that continually work against each other and it reconstitutes them into a higher unity while, in the process, transforming both elements (Murphy 1972, 189).

Leach has argued that whereas functionalist explanations are incomplete because they stress the structure of behaviour, structuralist explanations are also found wanting because they stress the structure of ideas: "Lévi-Straussian rationalists call themselves 'structuralists', but structure here refers to the structure of ideas rather than the structure of society" (Leach 1976, 5). Whilst it is true that structuralist literature displays a preoccupation with trying to discover a universal human psyche, this does not necessarily invalidate the structural method of analysis described above. It may be argued that the method in itself does not appear to have inbuilt bias towards the stress on the structure of ideas, for it provides models for the analysis of both ideas and activity. It is the use to which the method is put which would justify Leach's criticism of structuralist anthropology.

This thesis favours the dialectical model of analysis suggested by structuralist principles, rather than the equilibrium model of analysis which emerges from functionalist anthropology. However it should be noted that functionalist explanations are also employed where appropriate for, as Leach has pointed out,

The rival theories of anthropologists are themselves parts of a single interacting whole. Both viewpoints accept the central dogma of functionalism that cultural details must always be viewed in context, that everything is meshed in with everything else. In this regard the two approaches, the empiricist (functionalist) and the

rationalist (structuralist), are complementary rather than contradictory; one is a transformation of the other (op.cit., 5).

The Conscious Model

Although Lévi-Strauss coined the term 'conscious model' and emphasised its importance in anthropological enquiry, he was by no means the first to recognise its existence; where earlier writers had spoken of 'ideal pattern' or 'norm', Lévi-Strauss substituted 'conscious model'. However, Lévi-Strauss never clarified adequately his concept of the term. In the previous section it was pointed out that anthropological enquiry should be concerned not only with what people actually do and what they think they ought to be doing, but also with what they think about what they are doing. If, as Barbara Ward has pointed out, the term conscious model

implies that there is ever one single version of their own social system constructed in the minds of all individuals of any society, it is misleading. We can and must contrast conscious models, existing as constructs in the minds of the people under study themselves, with observers' models constructed by outsiders, including social scientists, but it is probably always useful to think also in terms of at least ... three different kinds of conscious models ... immediate models, ideological models and internal observers' models (Ward 1965, 137).

In her discussion of the fishermen of South China, Ward attempts to discover a sociological formula which might explain the continuity and uniformity of Chinese civilisation while at the same time accommodating an explanation of change and variation. It is in distinguishing the varieties of conscious model and in positing their variation against one another that she finds such an explanation.

Chinese culture, sinologists have suggested, owes its continuity and uniformity to the historical development and ascendancy of the bureaucracy in China, admission to the ranks of which was through public, state-organised written examinations in a narrow range of academic subjects. This educational élite was drawn from the ranks of a larger category of the population, the literati or gentry, all of whom shared a similar

education. The fact that the bureaucrats controlled real power, secured the China-wide prestige of the literati and their ideas. They modelled their norms, their education and their examinations on the social ideas of Confucius and this ensured that literati everywhere held to what were essentially the same ideal patterns. Such was the prestige of this literati model, that non-literati also aspired to follow it. Literati norms were

used consciously as a measure of progress and a target to aim at by those who were engaged in social climbing or as an index of failure by those who were on the way down. In such circumstances as these it would be reasonable to postulate the development of a degree of agreement between the several Chinese traditional conscious models which could be ascribed, at least in part, to the over-riding prestige of one particular conscious model (the literati one) and the authority in society at large of those who held it (Ward 1965, 116).

An illustration of this is the family structure of the Tanka (Cantonese speaking boat-dwellers) of Kau Sai, Hong Kong.

The Tanka occupy the lowest rank in the local Chinese system of social stratification. They are accused of being of loose sexual morality and of exhibiting other undesirable socio-cultural characteristics. This has been put down to what other Chinese believe to be their non-Han descent; that they are not really Chinese. Yet we find, upon examination, that the family structure of the Tanka approximates more closely to the literati model, than does that of many other non-literati groups. There is, for example, strong emphasis upon patrilocality, patriliney and the advantages of having many sons, and while this is also true elsewhere in China, in Kau Sai the emphasis seems particularly strong. Ward quotes two examples in support of this observation: there is no case of matrilocal marriage and there are no women heads of households. It might be suggested that the close approximation of Tanka family organisation to the literati ideal is due to the circumstances of a water-borne fisherman's life which appears to foster the same patterns as appear in the literati model.

But this cannot be the whole story, for if technical and economic circumstances alone could account for Kau Sai's actual family structures we should be unable to explain their strong patrilineal and patrilocal bias ... In Kau Sai ... lineages can hardly be said to exist, yet patriliney is strongly entrenched. Why? ... we are forced back to consider the conscious model again, for it is obvious that actual family structures in Kau Sai only make complete sense when they are seen as existing and developing within the framework of a strong patrilineal, patrilocal ideology. Kau Sai people do in fact hold a conscious model of family structure which is in essential closely similar to that usually attributed to the traditional literati. They set a high value upon this model, and constantly invoke it as a yardstick for behaviour. Nearly all local gossip and discussion centre upon it, and the very large majority of personal decisions are referred to it. It is a model for social action, which not only provides criteria for justification or criticism after an event, but also influences choice and decision beforehand (Ward 1965, 121-122)

The literati model, then, is a 'believed in' or 'ideological' conscious model, comprehending the 'ideal patterns' or 'norms' of behaviour: the 'oughts' of social life.

There are large areas of Tanka social life which fall outside the scope of literati norms and there are also areas where the literati model is simply inappropriate. A case in point is the role of women. Literati women were expected to play a purely domestic role in the strictest sense, while socio-economic reasons make this all but impossible for some groups of non-literati women including the Tanka. Again, the literati place great emphasis on social groupings such as lineages and the bureaucracy; the Tanka take no part in the bureaucracy and do not have lineages. So, not all the literati norms are to be found operating in either the observer's or the conscious model of Kau Sai family structure, nor are all aspects of the Kau Sai model in agreement with literati norms. The Tanka are aware of the differences and do not claim the literati model for themselves. Thus it is possible to postulate another conscious model: a Kau Sai model which is relevant for the people in regulating their daily activities and in the organisation of those areas of social life where

the literati model is inappropriate or irrelevant. The Kau Sai model may be called an 'immediate' conscious model: it is a model of Kau Sai's own socio-cultural system as the people themselves believe it to be.

There is yet another type of conscious model that people carry in their minds. The Tanka, for instance, know a good deal about the social arrangements of other Chinese groups: Hakka, Cantonese, Hoklo and Shanghainese. "The constructs they make about them are like observer's models, constructs about other social systems as the Tanka see them. They are not used as models for their own action, and they are rather the objects than the standards of criticism" (Ward 1965, 124). These models are used to facilitate inter-group contact and also to confirm, in its own mind, the superiority of a group's own social system over another's. Ward calls this type of model an 'internal observer's' model. However, the application of this type of model is limited to the group's perception of only the social systems of those groups which share basic cultural values i.e. Chinese ethnic groups which accept and revere the standards and norms of behaviour of the literati model. The perception of a European model is not included in the definition because: "Foreign patterns are judged by criteria which the foreigners themselves are not expected to share" (Ward 1965, 125). While such a limited definition is justified given the scope and aims of Ward's investigation, it might be useful, for the purposes of the present study to extend the definition to include a group's perception of all other socially or culturally distinct groups, be they ethnically related or not. Such a model may be called an 'emic or folk-observer' model which would include within its definitional scope Ward's 'internal observer's' model.

In the previous section it was observed that ideas and actions do not always support one another to maintain equilibrium; that in fact they

often contradict each other to facilitate progress and change; that ideas and action are in a relationship of dialectical unity. Now it is being suggested that people's ideas do not conform to a single conscious model of their own behaviour and the behaviour of others; that there are three types of conscious model that can be identified: an ideological or 'believed in' model, an immediate model, and an emic or folk-observer model. It is the perception of the contradictions between the different types of conscious model (especially the contradictions between the ideological and the immediate model) that facilitates an understanding of the contradictions between ideas and actions. If the people themselves recognise such contradictions in and between their various conscious models, then, it may be assumed, that they also recognise the contradictions between ideas and actions and are able to deal with such contradictions without their society having to be plunged into a state of disorder or anarchy.

With reference to Proposition one, it has been argued that an equilibrium approach is inadequate in providing an explanation of social change and that a dialectical approach is considered more appropriate in explaining the disjunction between ideas and behaviour. It has further been argued that it is people's ability to distinguish between varieties of conscious models that assist in the successful management of the disjunction between ideas and behaviour.

2. Socialization and Education

In the previous section it was suggested that the stability or social orderliness of a society was not dependant upon the homology between ideas and action because these are not, and never can be, entirely coterminous. Thus the 'equilibrium' model was dismissed as an explanatory mechanism because it assumed a 'fit', a consistency or a 'strain towards consistency' between ideas and action. The functionalist debate had, in fact, centred around the matter of the priority of ideology versus action. Dumont (1966),

for example, suggested that it was ideology that provided the prior constraining mould into which actions, social relationships, power structures etcetera 'fitted'. Conversely, Berreman (1965) maintained that economics and politics were the prior constraining factors into which ideology had to fit. Barth (1966) developed the concept of 'feedback': 'free' choices determined values (ideology) which were the sum of individual choices. These values would then 'feed back' to canalise and constrain further choice. If, however, it is assumed that ideas and action do not display a strain towards consistency (i.e. there is no concept of 'fit'), then this debate becomes irrelevant. It becomes all the more irrelevant in the context of the Pakistani teenage girls under study here, for, as will be described in a later chapter, they are not 'free' to make choices, nor are they responsible for much of their own behaviour. The question then remains: What governs their ideas and their actions? It will be suggested that it is the process of socialization which is instrumental in governing their behaviour, while it is the process of education which is responsible for the formation of their ideas, though it is recognised that there is a certain amount of interplay between these two aspects of the total process of Learning.

Proposition 2.

Socialization and Education are two separate though complementary processes through which children and young people learn to act and think. Socialization is that part of the learning process concerned with the learning of behaviour and the instilling of discipline, whilst education is concerned with the learning of ideas and the intergenerational transmission of knowledge. This distinction of 'content' corresponds to a distinction in the mechanisms and techniques ('form') of socialization and education.

British social anthropology, in marked contrast to its American counterpart, has displayed a traditional neglect of the study of socialization and education. There has been only one major publication on the subject in the past twenty years or so (Mayer 1970), and it is perhaps significant that the library of the Royal Anthropological Institute does not list

'Socialization' as a subject heading in its catalogue. This neglect has often been justified by the argument that socialization is a subject for psychologists; that it needs must incorporate psychological explanation because it deals with what is going on in people's minds. However, this justification is not necessarily a valid one. Socialization and education may be studied in the context of their content, techniques and functions without recourse to the study of the intervening process of internalisation of ideas and behaviour. In other words it is possible to make correlations between what is being learnt and how it is learnt/taught and to place these correlations in the context of the overall social system. The processes of socialization and education in a particular society may then be further analysed in the context of their functions and consequences for the social system as a whole.

This section attempts to (i) provide a working definition of socialization and education, (ii) describe the mechanisms and techniques appropriate in each context, (iii) discuss the impact of 'western' schooling on 'traditional' societies and cultures, and (iv) provide an analytic model of socialization and education appropriate in the context of a specific kind of culture contact (i.e. immigration).

Toward a working definition of Socialization and Education

There is a continuing and unresolved debate among anthropologists concerned with the subject, with regard to the formulation of definitions of the terms 'Education' and 'Socialization' in a way that might prove analytically useful. The issue is further complicated by a terminological problem. Where the Americans generally speak of Education 'in its broadest sense', the British speak of 'Socialization'. Here I will consider some of the maincurrents of thought on the subject, both British and American, and will attempt to provide a preliminary working definition of my own which will be subject to refinement at a later stage.

1. The 'Cultural' Orientation

Most American anthropologists, given their strong orientation towards theories of 'culture', define education 'in its broadest sense' as the 'transmission of culture'. It is generally seen as a mechanism or aspect of 'enculturation' which is "the internalization of culture" (Pentikainen 1976, 12) or "the process of generational continuity" (Singleton 1974, 28). However, while enculturation continues throughout the lifetime of an individual, education is generally limited to the enculturation of the young or 'immature'. This introduces to the definition the restrictive dimension of age. Thus Herskovits tells us:

In its widest sense, education is to be thought of as that part of the enculturative experience that, through the learning process, equips an individual to take his place as an adult member of society. The process, in most nonliterate communities, is carried on until the onset of puberty for girls, and slightly later for boys (1973 /1947/, 29).

Mead provides a similar definition:

In its broadest sense, education is the cultural process, the way in which each newborn infant ... is transformed into a full member of a specific human society, sharing with the other members a specific human culture (1970 /1942-43/, 1-2).

It is obvious that such cultural definitions tend to emphasise the acquisition of values, beliefs and norms at the expense of the learning of social behaviour and social roles, and some additional examples will serve to further illustrate this point. Hodgkin (1973 /1964/, 421) defines education in its broadest sense as "the transmission from generation to generation of the culture of a given society or part of that society" and makes the point that the educational system is functionally related to group values and norms and this contributes to the continuity of social life. Williams (1975, 1), although one of the few Americans to adopt the British usage 'socialization', characterizes it as the "inter-generational transmission of culture" which takes place within the context of primary groups i.e. those characterized by "intimate, face-to-face

associations and a high degree of cooperation". For Middleton (1970, xiii), education is "the learning of culture" and it has two aspects: 'formal training' and 'symbolic education'. Formal training consists of the transmission of everyday physical skills, technical competence, and vocational and professional knowledge. Symbolic education consists of the "inculcation of cultural symbols, moral values, sanctions and cosmological beliefs" (idem), and it constitutes the major part of any educational programme.

It will be apparent from the foregoing examples that the emphasis in cultural definitions of education rests firmly upon the transmission of ideas and knowledge at the expense of the transmission of behaviour i.e. the learning of social etiquette - behaviour appropriate in specific situations, towards specific people, in accordance with specific roles.

Most cultural definitions of education include a distinction between a 'broader' and 'narrow' use of the term. Lindquist perceives education in a narrow sense as "a process through which social groups organise learners into institutions that provide the means for learning in a formal and ordered manner". Education in this sense is an aspect of a broader category, 'socialization' ('broader' education) "the series of formal and informal processes by which families and societies enculturate infants into full adulthood" (Lindquist 1970, xv).

Herskovits provides a similar distinction between 'broad' and 'narrow' education:

A much more restricted sense of the word 'Education' limits its use to those processes of teaching and learning carried on at specific times, in particular places outside the home, by persons especially prepared or trained for the task. This assigns to education the meaning of schooling (Herskovits op.cit., 29).

Thus schooling plus education 'in its widest sense' (see Herskovits above) are aspects of the enculturation of an individual which "not only includes the training he receives at the hands of others, but also the assimilation

of elements in his culture that he acquires without direction, through his own powers of observation and imitation." Thus, "Enculturation and education are universals of culture, schooling is not" (Herskovits op.cit., 30).

Within the limitations of the cultural orientation, the distinction between schooling and broader education is a useful one. Calhoun and Ianni (1976) take it a step further by reserving the term 'education' to refer only to regularised learning situations. This usage is much closer to the British usage of the term 'education', regarded as 'systematic socialization'. A distinction is then made between 'institutional' and 'non-institutional' education. The former refers to education that takes place inside schools i.e. institutions for the transmission of specialised knowledge and skills. 'Non-institutional' education refers to "consciously organised and patterned social mechanisms for the transmission of knowledge and culture which takes place outside of 'schools' or similarly designated educational institutions" (Calhoun and Ianni 1976, 2). Examples of such regularised but non-institutional learning situations include initiation ceremonies, oral transmission of knowledge and hunting or herding instruction. The above usage of the term 'education' to refer only to regularised or systematic teaching is perhaps too restrictive, for children may learn (and be taught) 'culture' in a manner that is not systematic or regularised e.g. through peripheral participation in adult gatherings.

On the whole, it may be suggested that the cultural orientation has some validity if it is recognised that cultural definitions of (broader) Education refer to only one part or aspect of the total learning process i.e. the transmission of culture - norms, values, attitudes, specialised skills and knowledge. Such a definition allows for an alternative explanatory mechanism (viz. socialization) to accommodate the transmission of behaviour.

2. The 'Behavioural' Orientation

The behavioural definitions of socialization and education may be regarded as the obverse of the cultural definitions for they tend to emphasise and give a central position to the concept of 'role' and the learning of behaviour in accordance with 'role expectation', thus relegating their treatment of the learning of ideas and values to a secondary position. Such an orientation explains why studies of socialization by British anthropologists tend to concentrate on initiation and life-cycle ceremonies for these best express and illustrate the concept of socialization in terms of the concept of role and the process of moving from one role to another, i.e. of 'growing up'.

Durkheim (1956) describes education as influence

exercised by adult generations on those that are not yet ready for social life. Its object is to arouse and develop in the child a certain number of physical, intellectual and moral states which are demanded of him by both the political society as a whole and the special milieu for which he is destined (p. 71)

It is through education that society fashions individuals (to adopt roles) according to its needs; each new generation is a 'tabula rasa' on which society must recreate itself. The relationship between the individual and society is a reciprocal one, for "the individual, in willing society, wills himself" (ibid., 78). Thus education is an essentially social and collective function. Durkheim regards education and socialization as being basically similar in terms of function and content; they have the same ends and fulfill the same needs. Education is, in fact, simply an aspect of the broader category, socialization, distinguishable from it only in terms of organisation. Thus education is the 'systematic' and 'methodical' socialization of the younger generation (ibid., 71 and 124).

Mayer follows much the same direction as Durkheim though he refers more specifically to 'socialization' and places a more explicit emphasis on the concept of role: "Socialization may be broadly defined as the inculcation of the skills and attitudes necessary for playing given

social roles" (1970, xiii). An important aspect or mechanism of socialization is social control, exercised through 'diffuse sanctions': "Socialization ... diverts the individual in advance from actions inappropriate to his role; social control inhibits such actions" (*ibid.*, xv). Again, following Durkheim, Mayer defines Education as the 'systematic socialization' of the young generation. (Socialization, according to Mayer, comprehends the training or re-training of adults.) Richards (1970, 3 and 9) likewise appears to regard education as being an institutionalised mechanism of socialization.

Whiting (1968) has criticised the behavioural orientation because its strong emphasis on the learning of social roles obscures the transmission of beliefs, values and other cognitive aspects of culture. Moreover, it is not really satisfactory to regard education as being simply an aspect or mechanism of socialization distinguishable only in terms of its organisation, without some reference being made to the qualitative difference between each. Such a treatment renders the term 'socialization' too broad to be meaningful for cross-cultural analysis. It may be suggested, then, that if the term 'socialization' is used in such a way that does not comprehend the term 'education' within its definitional scope, then the behavioural orientation can be incorporated into a definition of the total Learning process.

It has been shown that both the cultural and behavioural orientations are problematic because, on the whole, they both treat 'education'/'narrow' education as an aspect or mechanism of 'socialization'/'broader' education and therefore regard both processes as having an identical content and function. According to the 'culturalists', both 'narrow' and 'broader' education shape the mind and transmit culture. According to the 'behaviourists', both socialization and education are responsible for shaping behaviour in accordance with specific social roles. Each approach is, by itself, too limiting to provide a definition of Learning in its

most complete sense. Such a definition can only be arrived at through a coalition of both the cultural and behavioural approaches.

Fortes (1970 [1938]) incorporates both cultural and behavioural orientations in his definition of the term 'education'. He starts from a culturalist axiom: "It is agreed that education in its widest sense is the process by which the cultural heritage is transmitted from generation to generation, and that schooling is therefore only a part of it" (op.cit., 15). A behavioural orientation is then incorporated:

Education is a social process, a temporal concatenation of events in which the significant factor is time and the significant phenomenon is change. Between birth and social maturity the individual is transformed from a relatively peripheral into a relatively central link in the social structure; from an economically passive burden into a producer; from a biological unit into a social personality irretrievably cast in the habits, dispositions and notions of his culture. ... Education, from this point of view is an active process of learning and teaching by which individuals gradually acquire the full outfit of culturally defined and adapted behaviour (ibid., 16-17).

Fortes' contribution is a valuable one for his definition comprehends the transmission of both ideas and behaviour. However, it suffers on two counts. Firstly the use of the term education to refer to the total learning process is problematic because of its varying usage in anthropological literature. Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, the definition is too broad and imprecise to be analytically useful.

I would suggest, then, that education is not an aspect of socialization; the two are quite separate though complementary processes through which children and 'young people' (i.e. those under the physical, social and economic control of parents or guardians) learn to think and act. Socialization is that part of the learning process which is concerned with the transmission of social behaviour and the elicitation of 'correct conduct'. Education is that part of the learning process which is concerned with the transmission of ideas, the norms, values and knowledge of a particular society. It is partly an 'informal' process

and partly organised and regularised; it may exist outside educational institutions and/or within them. It is obvious that considered in this way socialization and education are in a relationship of dialectical unity. Neither process can exist without the other, for social behaviour exists mainly in the context of ideas about social behaviour, while ideas have value primarily because they interpret social behaviour.

3. Mechanisms and Techniques of Socialization and Education

Socialization and Education may be further differentiated from each other in terms of organisation i.e. in terms of the mechanisms, techniques and personnel involved in each process. This bears a direct relationship to the qualitative differences (described above) between socialization and education.

Because the process of socialization is concerned with the learning of behaviour (everyday physical skills, correct conduct and social roles), so the mechanisms of socialization operate to maintain and enforce discipline and so shape behaviour. The efficacy of socialization mechanisms depend upon the learner's ability to learn, rather than the teacher's ability to teach. The mechanisms may operate in a manner which is:

- (i) 'Manipulative' i.e. under the direct manipulative control of an adult and therefore involving his/her direct and active participation in a socializing role. Manipulative mechanisms may also be referred to as Techniques. An example of such a technique is punishment in one form or another.
 - (ii) 'Non-Manipulative' i.e. the mechanisms are not under the manipulative control of an adult and therefore do not involve him/her in an active and direct socializing role. An example of such a mechanism is learning through imitation and observation.
- In circumstances where an adult is directly and actively involved in the socialization process, his/her role is that of Disciplinarian.

Conversely, the process of education being concerned with the learning

of ideas (norms, values and 'knowledge'), the mechanisms of education operate to impart information and shape ideas. The efficacy of education mechanisms depends upon the teacher's ability to teach. Mechanisms of education are always manipulative i.e. they are techniques always involving the active and direct participation of an adult whose role in the educative process is that of Teacher. Techniques of education vary. They may be either more or less 'formal' and may operate outside educational institutions and/or within them.

The purpose in describing mechanisms of socialization and education here, is not to examine how they facilitate the internalisation of ideas and behaviour (a subject for psychological analysis), but rather to contrast socialization mechanisms with education mechanisms in order to show how these 'mechanical' differences correlate with the 'qualitative' difference between socialization and education.

3A. Socialization

1. Manipulative Mechanisms (Techniques)

(a) Punishment and Reward

Punishment of various kinds is a universally recognised and employed technique for disciplining children. Its aim is to subjugate a child in order to make it obedient, and to make it conscientious in the discharge of its responsibilities and obligations.

Physical chastisement is perhaps the commonest method of punishment which, however, is usually only employed as a final resort. Among the Tallensi, for example, corporal punishment is only used for major offences such as theft or the neglect of a task. The father who punishes his son for theft is regarded as being a conscientious citizen. "Theft is immoral as well as criminal. Lying, by contrast, is considered merely foolish and contemptible ... one would not punish a child for lying unless it led to serious consequences" (Fortes 1970 /19387, 48).

In Tikopia the rationale for corporal punishment is quite different.

The punishment, it may be noted, is to be interpreted as a reaction of anger on the part of the parent or other elder, not as a retribution for an offence. It is regarded as a deterrent in that promises of its infliction are held out as warnings, threats to strike, but it appears to be actually inflicted as a result of the emotions aroused to an explosive point. Again, it is the act of beating rather than the severity of the punishment which is regarded as being so serious. Often the blows are delivered with a fan, the result being that the spirit rather than the body is bruised (Firth 1970 [1936], 83).

Corporal punishment in Tikopia is mild and because of its emotional character, execution is immediate. Threats of punishment are far more frequent than the act itself, and both are employed not in retaliation for any specific wrong action, but rather to induce the child to stop making a nuisance of itself or to go away i.e. to respond to authority.

In Egypt, as in Tikopia, corporal punishment is closely allied to a loss of temper on the part of the adult administering the punishment, though unlike Tikopia, the punishment in Egypt is harsh. It may take the form of beating, striking, whipping or slapping, but, as in Taleland, it is only inflicted in cases where the child has committed a serious misdemeanour, such as openly flouting the father's authority or showing disrespect towards elders. Once again, because of the emotional character of punishment, it is not administered with any consistency or regularity. "For the same offence the child might be beaten harshly, or his offence allowed to pass unnoticed. This depends, of course, on the parents' mood, or on their feeling toward the child at that particular time" (Ammar 1970 [1966], 243).

Other kinds of physical punishment that are found in traditional society include incarceration and deprivation of food, though instances of these are far scantier in the available literature.

A common form of non-physical punishment is censure in the form of reprobatory insults. These usually accompany threats of physical punishment and are delivered in a harsh tone of voice since they are once again a

consequence of a loss of temper by adults. Their function is two-fold. Firstly, they serve to shame a child for a lapse in expected behaviour and so elicit remorse. Egyptian boys, for example, are shamed by being denounced as girls or homosexuals. Again, a reluctance to comply with an elder's command leads the adult to impugn the child's senses with phrases such as 'Aren't you listening?', 'Haven't you got eyes to see?' and so forth. "Such phrases imply that the child should have done the expected things without being prompted, because he only has to make use of one of his senses" (Ammar op.cit., 242). Curses and fulminations also serve as warning signs to deter the child from further disobedience. Thus a Tikopian child is abused with the phrase 'May your father eat filth!' and Egyptian children are also subject to a wide range of fulminations which alert them to the fact that they have aroused adult displeasure. Egyptian children are particularly sensitive to their parents' curses for they believe that they cannot enter Paradise if they incur their parents' wrath.

Perhaps the most subtle kind of punishment to be found in traditional societies is the 'withdrawal of support' as practised by the Hopi. In a closely knit community the direction of kinship conditioning is toward interdependence, both physical and emotional. Eggan (1970 [1956]) recounts the case of a six-year-old who left unattended, an infant sister who was in her charge. After much initial scolding and rebuke for this neglect of her responsibility and obligation, the girl was subjected to avoidance by her family; they did not eat or talk with her and even avoided looking at her. The punishment lasted about ten days and the girl later recalled it as the most traumatic experience of her life.

There is little evidence in the available literature on the use of reward as an incentive technique for eliciting good conduct in traditional societies. This may be because reward is not 'emically' recognised or

institutionalised as a disciplinary technique to the extent that punishment is. However, it may be assumed that adults everywhere use praise (if somewhat sparingly) as a reward technique especially when encouraging a child to perform a particularly arduous task, or on the completion of such a task. A child may also be complimented on his good manners or accomplishments, although this appears to be rather more in the nature of a bonus than an incentive to be strived for. Reward may also take the material form of a gift or the physical form of a gesture of appreciation such as a pat on the back. In the absence of detailed information on the subject, however, one is forced to conclude that in most traditional societies, socialization techniques tend to emphasise punishment rather than reward.

(b) Elicitation of Fear

It is common practice in many cultures to frighten a child in order to ensure its good conduct i.e. to divert it in advance from inappropriate actions. Small children are particularly susceptible to fear of supernatural or mythical creatures: Hopi children fear bogey Kachina spirits who kidnap bad or unco-operative children, whilst Egyptian children fear similar evil spirits and, in particular the 'silowa' (a huge ferocious mythical animal that eats its young after suckling them) and the 'ghool' (a huge hairy beast which attacks sleeping children). Parents also scare their children by threatening them with dangerous creatures such as snakes and scorpions, dogs and wolves. Threats of beatings or other unpleasant forms of punishment are designed to instil a fear of authority. In Silwa (Egypt), Ammar reports, "During childhood the instilling of fear is one of the expedients that parents constantly use to repress their children and make them docile" (Ammar op.cit., 239).

(c) Corrective Commands

Commands by adults are yet another way in which a child learns good conduct. Commands usually apply to matters of etiquette and good manners

and are generally corrective in nature. For example, in Taleland the modest posture for a woman is to sit with her legs tucked under her buttocks. Until she is nine or ten years old, a girl may sit in any manner she pleases. However, as she approaches puberty she will often be told to 'sit properly' if her posture is immodest. A Tikopian child is similarly reproved for shouting or standing up in front of its elders with the command 'Face your father/grandfather/ etc.' meaning colloquially, 'Mind your Father'. "By this means the child gradually learns the rules of etiquette proper to a house, and how to behave in front of people" (Firth op.cit., 89).

2. Non-Manipulative Mechanisms

(a) Imitation and Observation

Several anthropologists have noted that children in most traditional societies learn a large part of their behaviour by observing and imitating the behaviour of the adults and older children around them. Learning in this manner is facilitated by two factors:

- (i) In most traditional societies, as Fortes has pointed out, both children and adults share the same social sphere; in Taleland, in fact, this social sphere is "unitary and undivided" and is "differentiated only in terms of relative capacity" (Fortes op.cit., 18).
- (ii) Mead (1970 [1942-43]) has suggested that in most pre-literate (and it may be added, traditional) societies, the emphasis is on the desirability of learning as opposed to the desirability of teaching. Thus the onus is on the child to learn the best he can, in the best way he can, from the raw material of his social and physical environment.

Ammar (op.cit.) notes the importance of learning through imitation and observation in the socialization of children in Silwa, a village in Lower Egypt. "Learning accrues mainly through children's observing,

imitating and assisting their adults in their everyday activities. For the villagers express the educational [i.e. learning] process through emphasizing life and time as the most important educational agencies which mould and influence the character, and provide experience" (op.cit., 226-227).

Among the Tallensi, Fortes reports that

Rapid learning or the acquisition of a new skill is explained by u mar nini pam, 'he has eyes remarkably' that is, he is very sharp. ... This conception of cleverness is intelligible in a society where learning by looking and copying is the commonest manner of achieving dexterity both in crafts and in the everyday manual activities" (op.cit., 23).

Children's mimetic play facilitates the acquisition of everyday skills as well as the acquisition of behaviour/etiquette related to specific social roles. For example, when a Tale boy is seven or eight his father buys him a small bow so that he may learn marksmanship while playing with his friends. 'Playing House' or similar imitative role play appears to be a universal phenomenon whereby, amongst other things, basic kinship categories are learnt and identified with. In some cultures such as the Tallensi, adults themselves may recognise the value of such mimetic play, while in others, children's games and play are regarded as a waste of time; something to be tolerated rather than encouraged.

(b) Ridicule and Gossip

Ridicule is a mechanism which serves to elicit conformity to group norms, and in particular to peer-group standards since it is employed almost exclusively by one's peers. Thus we find that in Silwa, for example,

Discipline and compulsion are the means for enforcing conformity and 'adab' [good manners] on children by the elders. On the other hand, amongst the age groups, mocking, ridiculing and scoffing at those who do not reach the expected level of maturity are the pressures exerted by their peers. In this connection, nicknames are frequently used by children to single out the ones who are laggards in their social maturity (Ammar op.cit., 230).

Ridicule produces shame and alienation from one's peers and is thus a

particularly effective mechanism in small groups:

Ridicule is a rejection - or at least a threat of it - by the universe as it is subjectively experienced; the narrower the social stage on which the individual can manoeuvre during his life, the more effective is ridicule as a device of social control (Cohen 1971, 32).

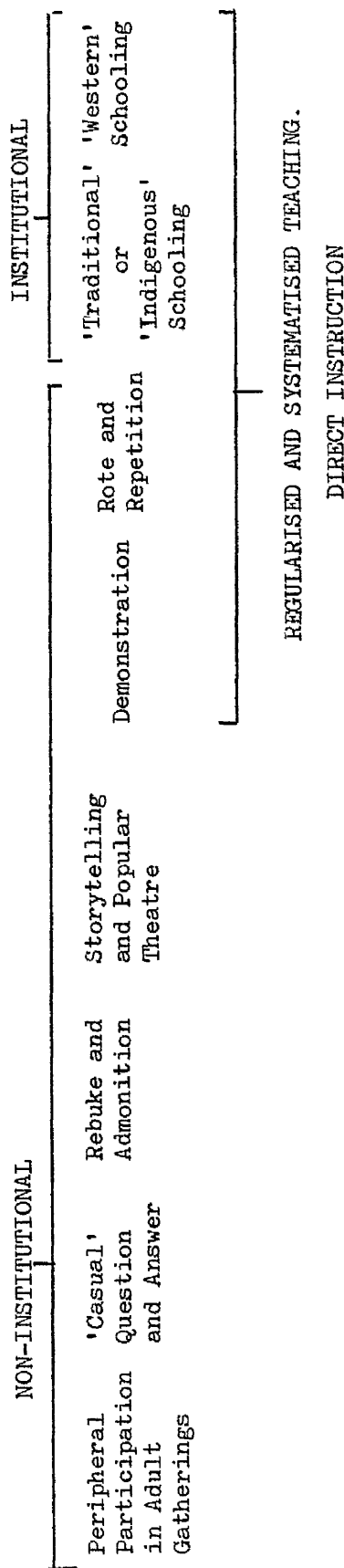
Fortes notes that in Tale society "Many rules of conduct are observed 'because it is befitting' - or because non-conformity is 'unbecoming' - it arouses embarrassment or ridicule or public criticism" (op.cit., 47). Gossip too has that potential and is more frequently employed by older children who become aware of its significance through hearing the gossip of elders. In Silwa, for example, a boy who is the butt of gossip would be subject to shaming and avoidance by other children: "The boy's friends might not speak to him and this would make him stand exposed and isolated" (Ammar op.cit., 231).

It is through socialization mechanisms such as ridicule and gossip, which are also mechanisms of social control, that children learn what kinds of behaviour and skills are expected of them at particular ages and stages of life. In other words, it is through doing wrong, or observing others doing wrong, that a child learns what is right.

3B. Education

Mechanisms of education are always 'manipulative' i.e. they are consciously recognised and endorsed techniques always involving the participation of adults in an active teaching capacity. Educational techniques are the agencies through which one generation transmits to another ideas and knowledge about cultural norms and values, cultural history and religion, as well as imparting secret or specialised knowledge, including specialised skills. Techniques of Education may be institutional and/or non-institutional, and may be ranged on a continuum from 'informal' to 'formal' (see Fig. I, p.43). The techniques at the formal end of the continuum operate primarily through the medium of 'direct instruction'

TECHNIQUES OF EDUCATION



I N F O R M A L

F O R M A L

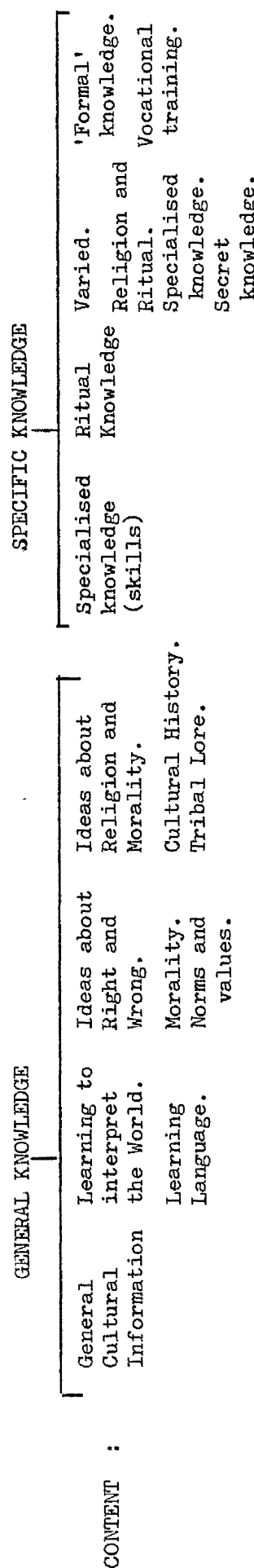


Fig. 1

i.e. systematic and regular teaching. It should be noted that differences in educational techniques relate to differences in educational content.

1. Non-Institutional 'Informal' Techniques

Not all cultures organise learners into institutions such as 'schools' but this does not mean that they lack educational techniques. Moreover, a significant proportion of 'culture' in traditional societies is transmitted through 'informal' educational techniques i.e. those which do not operate in a highly systematic or regular fashion but which arise out of the context of everyday situations. Such techniques facilitate the transmission of general (as distinct from specialised) information.

(a) Peripheral Participation in Adult Gatherings

In many traditional societies participation in adult gatherings and rituals is regarded as being an important method of teaching a child ideas about its culture. This is particularly true of the Tallensi, as Fortes discovered: "A chief once observed to me that children learn who their fathers and ancestors (banam ni yaanam) were by listening at sacrifices. 'Our ancestor shrines are our books', he said"(Fortes op.cit., 22). Another man explained why he allowed his grandson to listen to a discussion on some secret ritual matters:

'If he listens it does not matter. He will not gossip to anyone. And when someday I am no longer here, is it not he who will take it on? If he listens will he not know, will he not acquire wisdom?' When children are very small, he explained, they know nothing about religious things. 'They learn little by little. When we go to the shrine they accompany us and listen to what we say. Will they not (thus) get to know it?' (Idem.)

(b) 'Casual' Question and Answer

Children, especially the younger ones, constantly question adults (usually their parents) about ordinary everyday matters. The adult's answer imparts new information to them and therefore children question less frequently as they get older. The nature of the question is usually 'What is that?' or 'What is that for?' or 'What does that mean?'. In

answering such questions the adult teaches the child how to interpret the cultural and physical world about him. This technique is also instrumental in the child's acquisition of language.

(c) Rebuke and Admonition

Scolding is an important educational technique which operates to convey ideas about Right and Wrong; about morality, norms and values. This is well illustrated by the case of the six-year-old Hopi girl (see above) who left her infant sister unattended. Eggan records her informant's words:

" My mother's brother said: 'You should not have a sister to help you out when you get older. What can a woman do without her sisters? You are not one of us to leave your sister alone to die. If harm had come to her you would never have a clan, no relatives at all. No one would ever help you out or take care of you. Now you have another chance. You owe her more from now on; this is the worst thing that any of my sisters' children has ever done'"(Eggan op.cit., 119).

Such rebuke is not only effective in eliciting guilt as Eggan notes, but is also instrumental in conveying the idea that in a matrilineal household and clan, cooperation with one's 'sisters' is essential for the maintenance of the community.

(d) Storytelling and Popular Theatre

In most traditional cultures, the recounting of myths and fables either exclusively to children, or in public gatherings where children are present, is a common way of transmitting ideas about religion and morality, tribal lore and cultural history. Stories may be recounted on special ritual occasions or they may be standard bed-time entertainment. Little (1970 /1951/), for example, in itemising a typical day of a nine-year-old Mende girl lists listening to 'storytelling on the verandah' as the final item of the day's activities. Williams (1970 /1958/) reports that Papago children become aware of supernatural sanctions controlling behaviour by hearing adults repeat them often in recounting folk tales. Similarly, in Wogeo, New Guinea, myths have a strong (though not overtly

stated) moral content. "Myths provide an ultimate standard for judging - and justifying - conduct" (Hogbin 1970 [1946], 157). Through listening to tales of the misfortune of ancient culture heroes, children learn the negativity of characteristics such as meanness, unkindness, bad temper, disobedience, and so on. "Knowledge of the stories forms a part of everyone's equipment and in the course of a few years the children learn dozens" (ibid., 158). Although the children often recite and enact the stories for their own amusement, when the myths are told formally on more solemn occasions, the accent is on the moral content: a particular hero stole and was punished for it; stealing is therefore unwise.

Myths not only convey ideas about morality, but also familiarise the child with the various heroes, gods, ancestors and spirits of his cultural and religious world. This is nowhere more apparent than in that elaborate extension of storytelling, the popular or 'folk' theatre. Hindu children learn the story of Rama at the annual 'Dassera' festival where the epic Ramayana legend is enacted; Balinese children frequently watch (and sometimes participate in) the fight between good and evil spirits; Shi'ite Muslim children in Iraq and Lebanon witness passion plays about the martyrdom of the Prophet Mohammed's grandson; Hopi children learn about Kachina rain-spirits by attending at Kachina dances. The vivid and repetitive manner in which myths everywhere are enacted and recited ensure that they stay forever enshrined in an individual's mind.

2. Non-Institutional 'Formal' Techniques

'Formal' education techniques are those which are employed in a systematic and regular fashion and which therefore constitute overt training operating through the medium of direct instruction (as distinct from corrective command). Formal techniques facilitate the transmission of specialised or secret knowledge and skills.

(a) Demonstration

Demonstration is the primary instructional technique through which certain children and young people acquire specialised knowledge i.e. are taught specialised skills and crafts. It is a technique which is most frequently employed in a regularised and systematised manner in occupationally differentiated societies. Many such societies recognise some form of craft apprenticeship, while in others, occupation may be hereditary and specialised skills taught by father to son. In the absence of texts on the subject, craft training is effected primarily through the medium of demonstration.

(b) Rote and Repetition

In many traditional societies, much formal teaching is effected through the medium of rote and repetition. This particularly serves the learning of ritual songs, myths, prayers and genealogies. Since this technique is primarily used to transmit ritual knowledge, it is particularly useful for the training of religious specialists, be they Buddhist monks, Hindu Brahmins, or shamans of various religious traditions.

3. Institutional 'Formal' Techniques

By institutional/formal techniques is here meant 'schooling' comprehending both 'traditional' or 'indigenous' types of schooling as well as the 'Western' type. There are several criteria by which certain institutions may be classified as schools:

- (1) The existence of separate and specialised physical structures
(i.e. buildings)
- (2) A standard 'set' curriculum
- (3) Specialised teaching personnel

Schooling is the technique through which children and young people acquire specialised knowledge, both religious/ritual and technical.

(a) 'Traditional' or 'Indigenous' Schooling

Examples of 'traditional' institutions which fulfil the criteria

of schools include some African 'bush' schools and Muslim 'mosque' or 'Koran' schools.

Little (1970 [1951]) describes the 'schooling' associated with initiation into the Poro society among the Mende of Sierra Leone. A Poro session lasts from November to May with separate sets of initiates attending for a few weeks at a time. A temporary camp to house the initiates is erected in the bush close to the permanent premises of the society. Boys usually enter the school at puberty and their entry is marked by circumcision and the 'marking' ceremony, the first of several initiation rites. During their time in the bush the boys undergo a programme of training which varies according to the length of time the boys are able to remain in the bush.

It may include a certain amount of native law and custom, exemplified in the holding of mock courts and trials, in which the boys enact the roles of their elders. Boys who can afford to stay for a length of time learn a good deal about native crafts as well as the ordinary duties of a grown man, such as 'brushing' and other farming operations, and cleaning roads. Individual specialists at making raffia clothes, basketry, nets, etc., sometimes go into the bush with the boys and help them to become proficient in the particular craft they choose. Bridge-building, the making and setting of traps for animals and fish, are also taught. On the social side, the boys learn drumming and to sing the special Poro songs. They practise somersaults and acrobatics, and altogether their experiences produce a strong sense of comradeship (Little op.cit., 216).

The end of the period in the bush is marked by three separate initiation ceremonies at the completion of which the boys are told the final secrets about the society and the vows of secrecy are taken.

Whereas the Mende 'bush' school provides cultural, vocational and ritual/religious training, other types of 'traditional' schools such as the 'Koran' schools in Muslim cultures, provide training and specialist knowledge only in religion and ritual. The Koran schools teach pupils to read and recite the Koran and the obligatory Muslim prayers. In addition, depending upon their age, pupils may learn varying degrees of Islamic history, ideology and theology. Learning, in most forms of 'traditional'

schooling is facilitated largely through the techniques of rote and repetition.

(b) 'Western' Schooling

'Western-type' schooling differs from 'traditional' schooling primarily in respect of its content i.e. it is concerned with the transmission of 'formal' secular knowledge (Sciences and Humanities) directed towards vocational training for an occupationally differentiated complex society. Directly related to this function is a technique which distinguishes 'Western' schooling from most forms of 'traditional' schooling i.e. the use of a formal method (e.g. written examinations) for assessing pupils. It should also be noted that the range of available techniques for 'Western' schooling is wide; the techniques are far more diverse and highly developed than those normally employed in most forms of 'traditional' schooling. Such techniques have been fully discussed by educational psychologists and will not be elaborated here.

To summarise, then, it has been argued that mechanisms and techniques of socialization, are different from those of education, and this mechanical/technical difference bears a direct relationship to the 'content' of each process. Socialization mechanisms and techniques operate to elicit correct conduct and enforce discipline i.e. they relate to behaviour; the content is behavioural. Education techniques operate to transmit information (norms, values, secret and specialised knowledge) i.e. they relate to ideas; the content is ideological. It should be noted that neither socialization techniques nor education techniques are compartmentalised into any one sector of society. Schools, for example, whilst being primarily concerned with the teaching of ideas and the transmission of knowledge (and therefore employing education techniques), must, of necessity, employ socialization techniques to maintain discipline in the classroom. Conversely, in the domestic situation, parents constantly employ educational techniques to teach children ideas about their cultural universe.

3. The Impact of 'Western' Schooling on 'Traditional' Cultures

Proposition 3.

Disjunctions between ideas and behaviour correlate to (and in some part are generated by) differing cultural perspectives in the processes of education and socialization respectively. The more divergent the two processes (as in cases of culture contact) the more extreme the disjunction between ideas and behaviour.

Many anthropologists, and particularly those in the United States, have been concerned with the question of whether 'education' is a force of continuity or of socio-cultural change. Does it function to reproduce the social order or to change it? This debate has arisen partly because of the terminological difficulties connected with the word 'education', for in order to make a correlation one way or another, it is necessary to clarify whether one is referring to education as institutionalised in 'Western' schools, or to 'traditional' forms of education both institutional and non-institutional. Thus Calhoun (1976) points out that education may be regarded as both a process of 'enculturation' (producing continuity), as well as an instrument of social and cultural change depending upon the social context.

All societies, Calhoun points out, are changing all of the time, but the rates of change are variable, accelerating and decelerating within certain periods; societies may therefore be characterised in terms of relative 'stability' or 'instability'. Calhoun suggests that socio-cultural change may be perceived in terms of 'sociality' versus 'individuality': a social order that emphasises community solidarity is relatively stable, while one that emphasises individual distinctiveness is relatively unstable. This correlation between sociality:stability and individuality:instability is made in terms of actors' choices. When the social order is stable, people make predictable decisions. The decisions are predictable because the information required to make them is adequate. The information is adequate because very little of it is

required when the situation is very much like other situations and the future appears stable. In such situations the actor appears to be acting directly on shared values. When the social situation is unstable the extent of predictability is reduced in an increasing spiral; more information is needed and therefore 'adequate' information is never really available; actors have to rely on 'individualized decision-making'.

To the extent that education emphasizes individualized decision making, it contributes to an increase in the rate of social change. Perhaps more exactly, it contributes to an increase in social instability which may in turn lead to greater social change. The reverse would also seem to be true: education emphasizing sociated action contributes to the production of social stability. That is, it helps create the conditions for social stability one of which is sociated action (Calhoun op.cit., 339).

Calhoun concludes:

It is a mistake, then, to treat education as necessarily a force for either continuity or change. In many traditional societies [traditional] education fits closely into the social order and works to reproduce it. More and more, however, education is the responsibility of specialized subunits [Western schools]. As such it becomes more subject to individual decisions and more productive of diverse results. Some aspects of this process may well be valued. But we must also remember that education of this sort becomes the source of discontinuities and contradictions in sociocultural organization. In essence, education can become part of the dissolution of society (ibid., 343).

Although Calhoun makes the point that "societies do not form coherent and completely stable systems" (ibid., 328) and that change is pervasive, his model of education is essentially an equilibrium one and suffers accordingly. In the first place it is surely somewhat limiting to see sociocultural change purely in terms of individual distinctiveness versus community solidarity (i.e. in terms of social organisation) without giving due emphasis to changes in the overall value system. Secondly, there is no discussion on how disjunctions (discontinuities) between the educational system and the social order may be catered for without the threat of the dissolution of society.

Cohen (1971) argues that education, as institutionalised in Western-type schools, only predominates (as the primary learning process) at the expense of 'socialization' (Cohen here means non-institutional 'traditional' education as defined earlier) and the 'particularistically oriented' sector of society (i.e. household, kin group, clan, etc.). Particularistic values must necessarily be subverted because schools are designed to serve universalistic values. The development of schools is a characteristic feature of state-societies. Historically, schools do not emerge prior to states. Schools serve the ends of the state, and the state exists because it emphasises universalistic values at the expense of particularistic ones. One of the goals of the state is to subvert local, especially kin, sources of solidarity, loyalty and authority and to divert that 'esprit de corps' towards itself in order to extend its authority. In order to legitimate this authority the state must establish an ideology of uniformity among its polity, and it does this by inculcating a universalistic or uniform and standardised set of symbols to which all members of society can be trained to respond uniformly. To be effective such symbol systems must be 'implanted' early. Schools are the primary means of inculcating a universalistic or uniform and standardised set of symbols through such means as uniform dress, oaths of allegiance, flags and emblems, standardised 'sacred' books and paraphernalia, portraits of political leaders in the classroom, and so on. For most children, learning is a rewarding experience and so

the child comes to associate everything he learns with the state's symbols that face or envelop him while he is learning. These symbols become as much a part of his mind as the alphabet and the concept of zero. School is not only a place to learn arithmetic; it is also a place to learn zealotry (Cohen 1971, 41-42).

It is undeniable that, in terms of social organisation, 'Western' schooling has had a significant, even disintegrative, impact on 'traditional' societies, for it attempts, as Cohen has described, to subvert the

particularistic loyalties and values of the small-scale society and replace them with the universalistic ones of the state-society. In concrete terms this means a shift away from evaluating behaviour in terms of inherited or ascribed status and towards evaluation in terms of achieved status and merit; or in Calhoun's words, away from community solidarity and towards individual distinctiveness. But cultures have values and ideologies above and beyond those relating to the organisation of social relations, and it is somewhat less clear whether 'western' schooling has had an equally significant impact on these. For example, western-style schools in many Third World countries, in addition to teaching Western scientific disciplines, incorporate much of the content of vernacular education (e.g. religious education) and culturally or nationally biased history, geography and literature. Indeed such schools may even serve to reinforce fast disappearing traditional values in the face of a rapidly changing society. Considered in this way 'Western' schooling may even be regarded as an adaptive mechanism facilitating a smoother socio-cultural adjustment to a situation of radical technological and economic change.

It was noted earlier that in many 'traditional' societies the social spheres of the child and the adult are more or less the same. A consequence or concomitant of 'Western' schooling, however, is the division and separation of the social spheres of not only adults and children, but also of children of various ages. This, coupled with the relative 'shrinkage' of family life in a rapidly changing situation, has resulted in the emergence of peer groups especially among adolescent schoolchildren. Because children lead compartmentalised lives at school, their experiences are necessarily qualitatively different from those of their parents' generation. Under these circumstances it is not surprising to find a commitment to ideas and forms of behaviour which are significantly removed

from traditional ones and which are closely related to school-based experience. This commitment is particularly strong amongst 'second-generation' and immigrant schoolchildren as Eisenstadt describes with reference to the United States:

From the point of view of the immigrant or second-generation child, his family of orientation is inadequate as a general point of orientation towards the new social structure ... The attainment of full ego identity within the new country is among immigrant children, definitely connected with a detachment from the setting of their family of origin and a stronger identification with the universalistic patterns of the new country. For this reason there arises among some of them a very strong pre-disposition to join various 'peer-groups' which may sometimes facilitate their transition to the absorbing society by stressing - both in their composition and in their activities - the more universalistic patterns (and achievement orientation) of the new society or which may express their rebellion against this society. Within such groups a distinctive youth ideology develops, sometimes expressing the distinctiveness of 'Americanized' youth in relation to their immigrant parents, or, on the other hand, stressing their rebellion against the new society and their rather romantic attachment to the old culture. While the disposition to participation in 'peer-groups' and 'youth cultures' exists in most sectors of American society, it seems to be especially noticeable among immigrant children (Eisenstadt 1956, 175).

It appears then, that in the context of the specific kind of culture contact which is my concern here (viz. immigration), Western schools (and by extension the peer groups they produce) are instrumental in promoting change at the expense of the continuity and reproduction of the immigrant population's traditional culture.

Proposition 4.

Even the more extreme disjunctions between ideas and behaviour (produced by culture contact) can be successfully 'managed'; for neither education nor socialization are processes which exclusively promulgate one cultural tradition at the expense of another. Although the process of education may be primarily a tool for the promulgation of new 'Western' ideas, it is also partly a tool for the reproduction of 'traditional' culture. Similarly, although the process of socialization operates primarily to regulate behaviour in accordance with 'traditional' social standards, it also operates, if to a somewhat lesser degree, to regulate behaviour in accordance with some 'Western' social standards.

In this chapter it has been suggested that disjunctions between ideas

and behaviour exist in all societies because all societies are changing all the time. If there is a disjunction between ideas and behaviour then there must be a corresponding disjunction in the processes involved in learning each of these things; and this is partly related to the fact that people are aware that their actual behaviour (immediate conscious model) can rarely attain the perfect ideal or norm (ideological conscious model). Thus, through the process of education they transmit to their children the ideology of their culture, while through the process of socialization they correct their children's behaviour to a level that is socially acceptable.

Proposition Four is fairly obvious, perhaps even tautologous, in the light of the foregoing discussion. In the context of the kind of culture contact produced by immigration, the more extreme disjunctions between ideas and behaviour can be related to the fact that the major part of the education function has been usurped by the Western school, while the socialization function has remained largely within the control of traditional agencies. However even such severe disjunctions between ideas and behaviour need not result in sociocultural dissolution, because the education function is never entirely taken over by western schooling, and the socialization function is never entirely in the control of traditional agencies. This allows for an explanatory model of socialization and education accommodating change within continuity (see Figure 2, p. 57). A fuller discussion follows in Chapter Five.

4. An Analytical Model of Socialization and Education

Socialization and education may be regarded as separate though complementary processes through which children and young people learn to act and think. They may be differentiated from each other in terms of both content and technique. Socialization is that part of the learning

process concerned with regulating social behaviour and the mechanisms that operate towards this end are primarily disciplinary in nature. Education is that part of the learning process concerned with transmitting ideas and knowledge and education mechanisms and techniques are therefore primarily instructional in nature. (See Figure 2).

Socialization mechanisms may be (a) 'manipulative' (i.e. involving the active participation of an adult in the role of disciplinarian) and (b) 'non-manipulative'. The latter include (i) 'self-socialization' mechanisms (learning through imitation and observation) and (ii) 'peer pressure' mechanisms (learning through ridicule and gossip).

Education mechanisms are always 'manipulative' i.e. they are techniques involving the participation of an adult in the role of teacher. They may be (a) institutional (schooling) and/or (b) non-institutional (e.g. storytelling). Institutional techniques may be further differentiated in terms of (i) 'traditional' or 'indigenous' schooling, and (ii) 'Western-style' schooling.

Within the context of a specific kind of culture contact (viz. immigration), the mechanisms of 'Western' schooling and peer pressure (plus, to a limited degree, 'self-socialization') operate to promote sociocultural change i.e. a departure from traditional ideas and forms of behaviour. Other socialization and (traditional) education mechanisms and techniques operate to promote the continuity and reproduction of traditional ideas and forms of behaviour.

In the following chapters I will describe the behaviour and the ideas, the socialization and the education of Pakistani teenage girls in London with a view to analysing the ethnographic data within the context of the model set out in this chapter.

A Model of Socialization and Education

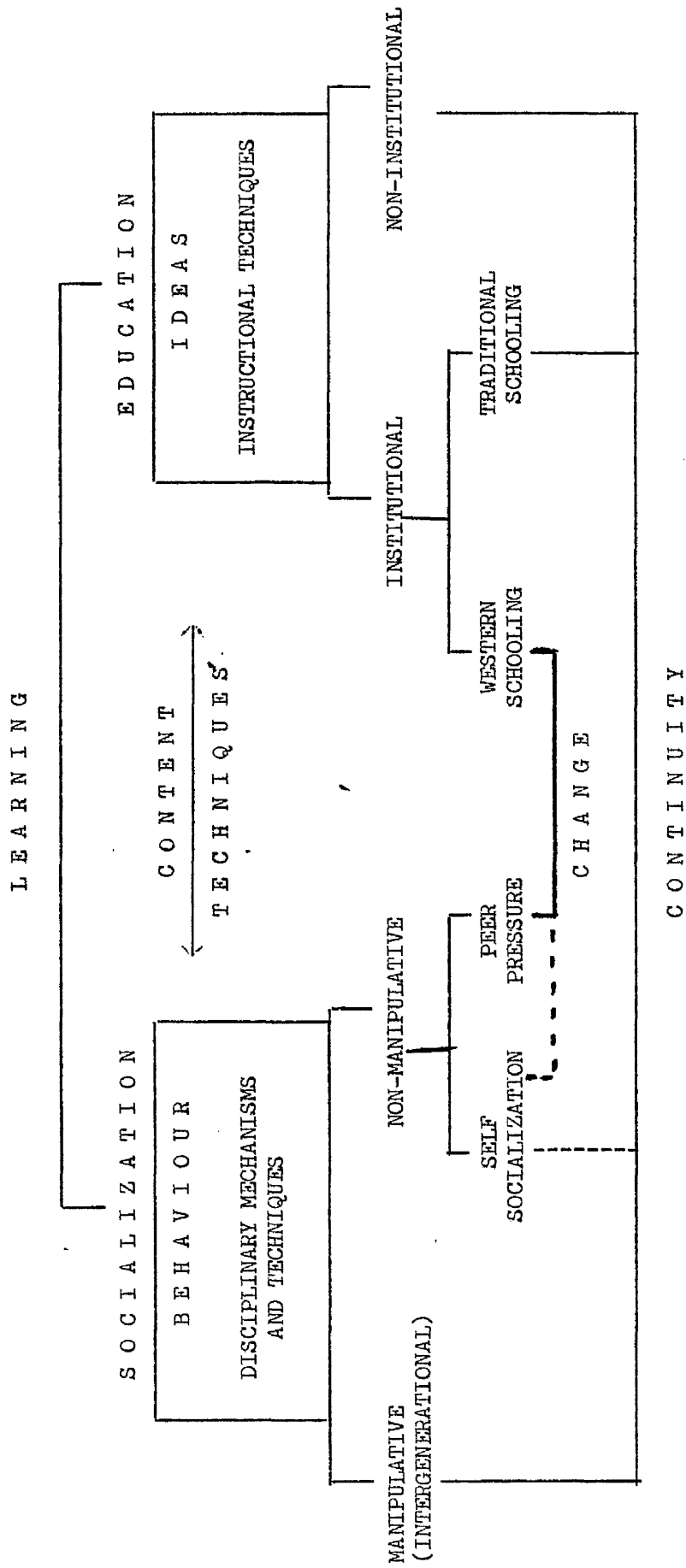


Fig. 2

CHAPTER TWO

THE ETHNOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND: TRADITION, MIGRATION AND ADAPTATION

This chapter describes the ethnographic background of Pakistanis in South London. It describes the lifestyles of the adult Pakistanis prior to migration and, more generally, the traditional value system of urban, middle-class Pakistanis. It further describes the migration to and settlement in South London and the adaptation to life there. It begins, however, with a discussion of my own fieldwork in South London and its associated problems.

Fieldwork in South London

The fieldwork was carried out between October 1977 and June 1978 in a South London borough with a relatively high concentration of Pakistani immigrants (0.57 per cent of total population born in Pakistan or Bangladesh - C.R.C. 1976). The community is not as highly concentrated as the ones in the Midlands (Birmingham 1.60 per cent - *ibid.*) or the north of England (Bradford 2.65 per cent - *ibid.*) and is more heterogeneous in terms of class, area of origin and occupation.

My first contact in the borough was with an SSRC-RUER (Social Science Research Council - Research Unit on Ethnic Relations) team of social scientists who were researching into aspects of ethnicity amongst the borough's immigrant population. They provided me with further contacts with social and community workers in the area. It was the local Adult Education Centre that provided me with the most useful contacts. Under the auspices of their Language Tuition Unit (L.T.U.) they were running the 'Parosi' home-tuition scheme whereby they invited volunteers to teach English to Asian women at home on a one-to-one basis. I enrolled

in this scheme as a volunteer home-tutor and underwent a short course in the teaching of English as a foreign language. The staff at the centre had close links with the Asian community as they had been involved in EFL teaching for many years prior to the advent of the Parosi scheme. They were able to provide me with two pupils who more or less corresponded, in terms of their socio-economic background, to the type of sample I had in mind (see below), and who also had teenage daughters attending Springvale Comprehensive, a school which has a high concentration of Asian girls. My pupil-informants lived on a large council housing estate and soon introduced me to other families living nearby.

The Adult Education Centre also had close connections with teachers at Springvale school and I was provided with an introduction to the head of the sixth year. My official status at the school was vaguely defined as that of 'visitor'. I had unrestricted access to the girls in their common room and lunch room and in addition was given permission to attend their classes. I also had access to the girls' academic records and personal school files and the teaching staff were very helpful with comments on the progress of individual pupils. My friendship with the girls further enabled me to visit their homes and to establish a relationship with their families.

Thus, I had two sources of access to the community: through the friendship network of my two language pupils I had established contacts with members of the adult female community who lived within the catchment area of Springvale school (which their daughters attended); and through the school I had established contacts with teenage girls which further led to the establishment of a relationship with their parents, siblings, relatives and peers.

My role as a researcher was easier for the adults of the community to comprehend (since some of them had already been the subjects of socio-

economic surveys), than it was for the teenage girls. In the beginning I was regarded by most of the girls as simply another fellow pupil at the school, even though I had attempted to explain my position as a researcher to them. It was because of this initial misconception that there later followed a period of alienation when the girls realised that I was not in any true sense their peer or counterpart (either socially or educationally), that I did not share their problems, and that ultimately I was an outsider. They became guarded and formal in their relationships with me. Finally, and most rewardingly, my role assumed something of the status of a social worker. It was during this period that most girls confided in me quite frankly, sought my advice, and on several occasions asked me to intercede on their behalf with parents or teachers. However I never completely managed to lose the ambiguity attached to my role as researcher and this continued to cause problems. On one occasion, one of my teenage informants arrived home from school to find me conducting a semi-structured interview with her mother. The girl became terribly upset and hostile towards me as she felt I was betraying her trust and confidence. It was with great difficulty that I managed to persuade her that this was not the case.

My status as a Pakistani female also had an impact (especially on the adults) on the type of responses that I received in reply to some of my queries. As a Pakistani, I was regarded as being part of the same value system as my informants, and therefore the adult members of the family took care that no information given me could be construed in such a way as to 'blemish' or adversely affect their izzat (honour). Thus, for example, when I questioned mothers on their relationships with their daughters, they denied that any conflict or friction existed, although their daughters had often informed me to the contrary. One mother remarked typically: "There are lots of our Pakistani girls who get

into trouble in this country, and who have no respect for their parents. But thank God that by the grace of God my daughter has grown up to be dutiful and sensible." As a female, I had very restricted access to the male members of the household, and the research has become female-oriented due to circumstance rather than design.

The fieldwork presented some very real physical problems too. As I had no fieldwork grant I could not afford to live in the community itself. This presented two major problems. Firstly the time and money spent in travel were considerable. Not only did I have to travel fairly extensively within the fieldwork area itself (since the community was well dispersed), but I also had to commute a fair distance between my home and the fieldwork area every day. Secondly, the lack of a base in the community was keenly felt both by myself and by my informants. There was nowhere for me to reciprocate the hospitality of my informants and, more importantly, nowhere for me to talk confidentially to the girls outside school. Moreover, since I did not actually live in the community, I was always regarded as something of an outsider, and this meant that contacts with informants were perhaps not as intimate as I had hoped they might be. These problems were somewhat alleviated when I purchased a car and I was able to make substantial savings in terms of time and money. However the sociological and psychological aspects of the problem remained throughout my time in the field.

Apart from these problems, my methods and techniques of fieldwork were fairly straightforward. I spent each morning and early afternoon at the school with the girls, attending their classes and generally participating in their other school activities. After school I would generally offer one of the girls a ride home in my car and this usually earned me an invitation to stay to tea or dinner. At other times I would accompany some of the girls to their evening classes at the college

of further education. Traditional participant-observation was supplemented by semi-structured interviews and discussions with both the teenagers and their mothers, in both individual and group sessions. I also carried out a simple questionnaire-survey on the socio-economic background of all 15 - 17 year old South Asian girls at Springvale school. (See Appendix 2.)

The Background, Migration and Settlement of Pakistanis in London

Studies of Pakistanis (and other South Asians) in Britain have dealt primarily with immigrants from rural backgrounds who have settled in the industrial North and Midlands of England. The sociologists of the 1960's (Rex and Moore 1969; Rose 1969; Allen 1971) studied immigrant housing and employment patterns and related these to the existence of racial prejudice and discrimination in the host society. Most of these studies were carried out under the sponsorship of the Institute of Race Relations (IRR) and reflected the political and sociological perspectives of that body whose principal research interests were the relationship of the immigrant to the host society, and the degree of assimilation of the former into the latter.

The anthropologists of the 1970's (notably Dahya 1973 and 1974 and Khan 1974 and 1977) reversed this trend and used the actor's frame of reference. They not only studied Pakistani communities in England but their background and migration as well. Their concern was not with the relationship between immigrant and host society, but with the relationships between the immigrants themselves and their homes in Pakistan. They related immigrant settlement and employment patterns not to racial prejudice and discrimination, but to a 'myth of return' (see Dahya, op.cit): the migrants saw themselves not as immigrants but as 'sojourners' in Britain; they had come to England only temporarily, to earn enough money to secure their future lives in Pakistan. This accounted not only

for their settlement and employment patterns in Britain, but also for the fact that they remitted substantial amounts of their earnings back to their relatives in Pakistan. It was also partly the reason for their rigid adherence to traditional culture and values: if England was only a temporary home, why adopt western values and norms of behaviour? These would only endanger one's social status back home in Pakistan, which, after all, was the relevant sphere of reference.

In carrying out a 'community study' which concentrated on the actor's frame of reference, the anthropologists have been criticised for neglecting the race-relations perspective. In their defence it should be stated that this neglect was a consequence of the very 'encapsulated' nature of the Pakistani communities of the North and Midlands, which in turn is a consequence (together with the myth of return) of the immigrants' rural background. Because the rural-urban, East-West migration had been collapsed into one, the immigrants had no 'psychological tools' with which to handle the radical socio-cultural change that faced them in their new environment. As Toffler (1970) has suggested, when faced with a situation of radical technological and environmental change, an individual has two choices. He can try to adjust to the change, try and 'catch up' with the rest of society, an endeavour in which he is likely to be thwarted if the gap is too wide. In failing to adjust, he will be caught in a kind of cultural 'time-warp' and, unable to find his way out, he will suffer psychological collapse. Alternatively, the individual can withdraw from the society at large and maintain the values and life-style he was accustomed to prior to being plunged into a new environment. This kind of withdrawal, when practised collectively by a number of people, produces the kind of encapsulated community that characterises the social organisation of Pakistani immigrants in the North and Midlands; a community encapsulated not only in terms of its culture, but also in time. Pakistani immigrants

from urban backgrounds, however, are not faced with as wide a cultural and technological gap as their rural compatriots; their lives are consequently not as encapsulated and they participate to a greater extent in British society. Their strategy in dealing with social change is to adapt or adjust to some degree - a kind of 'modernity of tradition'. A study of these urban immigrants, especially in the context of the socialization and education of their children, would be an appropriate academic 'bridge' between the sociological and anthropological approaches, for while it would be a 'community study' in the traditional anthropological sense, it would of necessity also have to examine the impact of the host society on the immigrant, and the ways in which the latter responds to the former.

So far, the only major contribution to the discussion on Pakistanis from urban backgrounds is Jeffery's study (1976) of Pakistani families in Bristol. Jeffery observes that the life-style and patterns of migration and settlement of her informants are somewhat different from those described by anthropologists for Pakistani villagers in England. I will discuss some of these points of difference, where they apply, with reference to Pakistanis in London.

According to the 1971 Census of Great Britain there are 30,135 people (0.40 per cent of the total population) living in Greater London (i.e. the GLC area) who were born in Pakistan. There are several problems in using this figure when trying to determine the number of people of Pakistani ethnic origins actually living in London. Firstly, the Census makes no distinction between Pakistanis and Bangladeshis since it was taken prior to the Pakistani Civil War and the subsequent independence of Bangladesh. Secondly, because the population is listed according to country of birth rather than according to ethnic origin, many white people born in Pakistan or Bangladesh are included in the figure. On the other hand, the children

born in Britain of immigrant parents have been omitted. Given these problems it is difficult to estimate the number of Pakistanis living in London at the time of writing.

At this point let me define the group of people referred to as Pakistani for the purposes of this study. This includes people of the Muslim faith who were born in what is now Pakistan and who belong to one or other of the four major Pakistani ethnic groups: Punjabi, Pathan, Sindhi and Baluchi. Also included are those people of the Muslim faith, born in what is now Uttar Pradesh, India, who migrated to Pakistan after Partition and settled in the urban centres, primarily Karachi. They belong to the Urdu-speaking élite of Delhi and Lucknow. In Pakistan they are vernacularly known as U.P. wale or muhajir (refugees). Finally, by the term Pakistani I am also referring to the children, born in Britain, of the above-mentioned categories of people. The term 'Asian' or 'South-Asian' refers to people whose ethnic origins derive from the Indo-Pakistani sub-continent.

The vast majority of Pakistanis in London are Punjabis from the larger Pakistani cities: Lahore, Rawalpindi and Faisalabad (previously Lyallpur). There are also a number of non-Punjabis from Karachi who belong to the Urdu-speaking muhajir group. The urbanisation of the Punjabi group has been fairly recent, generally only two generations deep and frequently even less. By contrast, the muhajirs are among the oldest groups of city-dwellers in the Indian sub-continent.

1. The Pakistani Background

(a) Occupation

The occupational background of the migrants is quite diverse. The men were traders, shopkeepers, small-businessmen, low-ranking officers in the Pakistani armed forces, junior government servants, clerks, school-teachers, doctors and lawyers. Nowadays in large towns and cities,

social status is reckoned in terms of occupation, wealth and education rather than in terms of caste (zat) and the above occupational groups form the Pakistani middle classes with doctors and lawyers filling the uppermost echelons. In order to reduce the variability of socio-economic factors, this latter 'upper-middle class' professional group has been excluded from the research. The monthly income for the other groups varied from about Rs.700 to about Rs.2000, the self-employed usually being better off than the wage-earners.

(b) Housing

There are great variations in housing standards in the urban areas of Pakistan. The very rich live in exclusive suburbs in bungalows with gas, electricity, plumbing and such modern conveniences as air-conditioning. Their homes are spacious, opulent and luxuriously furnished. The very poor live in crowded shanty towns and squatter settlements near industrial areas in tents and make-shift shelters such as unused drainage pipes. Squatter settlements often become permanent when the residents begin to build kachcha (mud-brick) houses, some of which may eventually be converted into pakka (unplastered baked-brick) homes.

The middle-class generally live in the city commercial centre or in semi-modern 'housing colonies'. In the more densely populated city centre they live in small flats or, as Jeffery (op.cit.) found, in city homes that are several storeys high with each storey often having only a single room. The housing colonies consist of plastered baked-brick or cement-brick houses built in a more or less traditional style though with some modern trappings. The rooms are still built around a courtyard and there is often a zenana section for women, but the house is frequently double-storeyed. The size and style of the house varies with levels of wealth and status, tending to become more 'modern' and western in appearance as one moves up the social scale. Both the city homes and colony houses have

electricity and running water but little else in the way of modern conveniences. Few have flushing toilets or refrigerators and food is cooked on kerosene stoves. Luxuries include electric fans and irons, sewing machines, radio and television sets. Families are large and living conditions are usually cramped with perhaps three or four people sleeping in one room. Rooms are furnished for practicality rather than appearance though once again décor becomes more important as status and wealth increase.

(c) Gharana, Biraderi and Zat

There is no comparable word or phrase in either Urdu or Punjabi for 'family' in the nuclear western sense. Although educated Pakistanis often use the Urdu word khandan when referring to the nuclear family, khandan is more accurately translated as patrilineage. For Pakistanis, as for most South Asians, the basic organisation of society rests upon the interdependence of social groupings and the individual has little standing or recognition outside a group; he stands or falls within the group regardless of personal initiative or endeavour.

A man or woman must be conceptualized as existing in a complex network of rights and duties, which extend from the central core of his immediate family to a wide set of paternal and maternal kin relations. He, or she, is not an individual agent acting on his or her own behalf but exists only in relation to family and kin. Reputation or status is dependant on this network, and on the fulfilment of the rights and duties inherent in a position at any particular time. To concentrate on personal, financial, educational or occupational achievements to the detriment of the loyalties and duties to one's family and kin involves a loss of reputation and can eventually lead to rejection. The individualism and independence so valued in the West, appears selfish and irresponsible to Pakistanis living in this context. To move out of the network involves forfeiting the mutual aid, trust, support (emotional and financial), inheritance rights, etc., which are the right of any member. (Khan 1976a, 225)

An individual is a member of several groups at any given time, the most fundamental of these being the gharana (household), the biraderi (literally 'brotherhood') and zat (caste). It is to gharana or the

biraderi (or to both) that I am referring when I use the word 'family' in this thesis.

The traditional gharana may consist of up to three generations of kin, though this varies over time depending upon the stage of the developmental cycle of the domestic group. At its 'fullest point' it typically includes the parents, an unmarried daughter or nephew, two or more married sons, their wives and their unmarried children. Kolenda (1968), who distinguishes six types of joint families, has called this configuration a 'supplemented lineal-collateral joint family', though I would prefer to substitute the words household or domestic group for family. The members of the gharana undertake joint economic activity, pool their incomes, share their resources and eat together. In urban Pakistan today such a joint gharana is no longer viable for reasons of limited living space or the dispersal of kin for economic purposes. Moreover, if the rural to urban migration is recent, an individual may well have left many close relatives behind in the village. However, while the urban household may not be as large as the rural one it is not a nuclear one either. It may be 'supplemented-nuclear' (a nuclear household plus an unmarried, divorced or widowed relative), or 'collateral-joint' (consisting of two brothers, their wives and their unmarried children), or even 'supplemented collateral-joint' (a 'collateral-joint' plus a widowed, divorced or unmarried relative). Closely related urban households continue to support one another both financially and socially and even when they are widely dispersed contacts are regularly kept up with gatherings at festive occasions or deaths. All consanguinal kin are ultimately linked by obligations and duties they owe one another by virtue of their kinship, and neglect of these between close kin would bring disrepute upon the gharana concerned.

The biraderi is also a kin group the organisational principles of

which comprise common descent (the vertical principle) and fraternal solidarity (the horizontal principle). The size and function of the biraderi varies according to an individual's perception of it in different situations making it difficult, from an observer's viewpoint, to encapsulate the biraderi within any given boundaries.

Individuals seem to perceive their biraderis radiating out from them, through their relatives on both sides (patrilineal and matrilineal kin and affines): in other words, they seem to regard the biraderi as an ego-centred cognatic kinship network ... In general it may be said that biraderis consist of people who are cognatically related and from whom it is desirable to choose spouses. (Jeffery 1976, 33)

In his study of West Punjab villages, Alavi (1972) provides a more precise analysis which addresses itself more directly to both the vertical and horizontal principles of biraderi organisation and perception. The 'vertical' principle of common descent finds expression in two conceptions of the term biraderi. In its widest meaning the biraderi is a patrilineage and includes "all those between whom actual links of common descent can be traced in the paternal line, regardless of the number of generations that have elapsed. In this sense, therefore, biraderi is indefinite in size" (op.cit., 2). However, practical considerations such as memory and dispersal of kin make it difficult for individuals to establish links of common descent beyond four or five generations and this allows for a more restricted interpretation of biraderi which emphasises the component of recognition.

Structurally the definition of biraderi as the 'biraderi of recognition' ... emphasises descent, as does the first definition of biraderi in its most general meaning; but it differs from it insofar as the boundary of the biraderi of recognition is delimited by mutual knowledge of the actual links of common descent and is empirically determinable (ibid., 3).

The 'horizontal' principle of fraternal solidarity finds expression in two further, more restricted conceptions of the term biraderi. The

first of these emphasises the component of participation.

It denotes those households of a biraderi of recognition who actually participate in a ritual of exchange of prestations called vartan bhanji on certain ceremonial occasions. Participation in such a relationship is not casual but unfailingly regular between a group of households. This smaller solidarity group, whose member households thus affirm their fraternal ties by ritual participation in vartan bhanji, may be designated as the 'biraderi of participation' (ibid., 3).

Residential proximity and, in particular, village residence, form the final component of the term biraderi in its most restrictive sense.

The biraderi of participation which includes groups of households in several villages is referred to, where the context demands, as the 'entire biraderi' in contrast to the 'biraderi of the village'. The last is the fourth level of connotation of the term biraderi. At that level the mutual interaction of related households is the highest and ties of group solidarity are the strongest (idem.)

The biraderi, in its most general meaning is an endogamous group though marriage within its boundaries is preferred rather than prescribed. Muslims favour patrilineal parallel cousin marriage (see below) and a consequence of this is "the creation of extremely involuted and compact patrilineages which 'appropriate' their own women rather than exchange them with other kin groups as in the case of kinship systems based on exogamous descent groups" (ibid., 6).

The organisation and perception of biraderi in terms of its guiding principles and functional components is graphically presented in Figure 3, below.

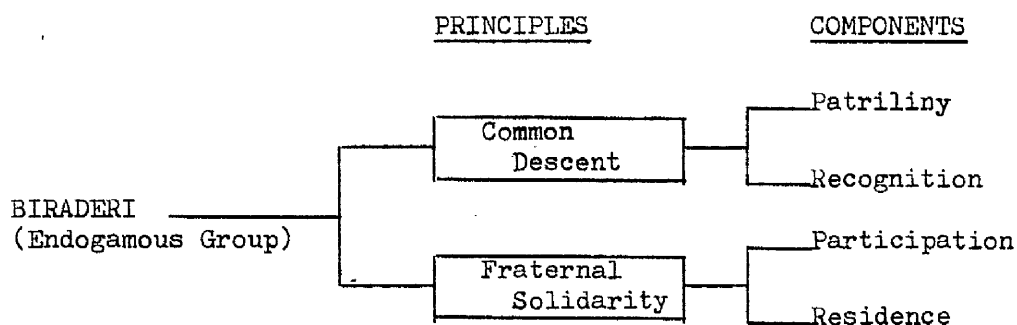


Fig. 3. The Perception of Biraderi

Biraderis operate in much the same way in urban settings as they do in rural ones, though obviously residential dispersal means that mutual interaction is far more limited, and the kind of solidarity exhibited at the 'village biraderi' level is weakened. However, related households continue to participate in vartan bhanji, lend support and financial aid, and choose marriage partners from within the perceived boundaries.

Zat has often been confused with biraderi and Blunt (1931) makes a useful distinction:

The zat is the caste as a whole; the biraderi is the group of caste brethren who live in a particular neighbourhood and act together for caste purposes. The biraderi quantitatively considered is a mere fraction of the zat; qualitatively considered it is the zat in action (p.10).

Zat here is not caste in the Hindu sense, but an Islamic system of ranking legitimised in Hanafi Law as nasab (descent or lineage) ranging from Syeds who are the descendants of the Prophet Muhammad (highest status) to non-Arab merchants or tradesmen (lowest status). In the Indian sub-continent the zat system ranks Syeds together with Shaikhs, Mughals and Pathans as Ashraf (noble or pure) castes at the top of the status scale, and the indigenous Hindu converts such as Dhobi (washerman) and Bhangi (sweeper) at the lower end. Thus with its origins firmly in Muslim law, the system of zat ranking took on some of the trappings of the Hindu caste system.

Alavi (op.cit.) finds the meaning of zat to be rather more elusive:

Groups bearing the same zat name are not, by that token, brought together to constitute societal units nor does the concept of zat imply any rules of social interaction. The endogamous system has the effect of constituting compact, tightly organized and self-contained but, at the same time, small and localized biraderi groups. It creates a social organization which is locally cohesive but spatially fragmented. All biraderis in the endogamous system have zat names. Such names are used locally, as surnames, to identify the biraderis ... the question whether the existence of zat names signifies the existence of caste in the contemporary society is highly problematic (p. 26)

In Pakistan today, and especially in the urban situation, zat has generally ceased to be a meaningful category either of reference or action. This is evidenced by Alavi's finding that on occasions where marriages occur outside the biraderi, the majority also occur across zat boundaries (op.cit., 7). Alavi concludes that "kinship, rather than caste, is the primary factor amongst the primordial loyalties which govern social organization in West Punjab villages" (ibid., 27). The same would also appear to be true of the urban Punjabis.

(d) Izzat

Izzat, literally meaning honour, is a notion inextricably linked with the collective, group ethic, for it is not an individual that gains or loses izzat but the group as a whole, albeit through the actions of individuals. A child who does well at school, for example, is commended not for his own efforts or on his own merits, but for the prestige he brings to his family. Conversely, a person who behaves 'improperly' is likely to stigmatise his entire family, sometimes for generations to come, for izzat once lost is practically beyond redemption. It is also, as Jeffery notes, highly contagious:

A man is judged partly by his own behaviour, partly by the company he keeps ... Each individual takes care over his associates: his izzat will be in peril if he associates with dishonourable people, and he aims to enhance his izzat by trying to cultivate links with his 'betters' (Jeffery 1976, 33-34)

An important aspect of izzat is that it is the frame of reference within which a code of conduct operates. Almost all behaviour is measured in terms of whether it will bring honour or dishonour (be-izzatti) to the family. The code of conduct is essentially legitimated by Islamic precepts and requires observance not only of religious duties, but also of a particular kind of life-style: the seclusion of women (at least to some extent), the differentiation of sex roles, the respect of elders and especially parents, the fulfilling of obligations towards kin, and

hospitality, generosity, simplicity and humility in relationships with others. Because izzat is a concept central to Pakistani culture, the code of conduct outlined above has survived almost intact the rural to urban transition. The most important changes have been in the position of women, and these are discussed in the next section below.

Jeffery noticed two separate trends in life-style that accompany upward social mobility in Pakistan. The one was a tendency towards Westernisation, the adoption of Western forms of dress and behaviour as depicted in Western books and films in the cinema and on television; the other, a tendency towards 'Ashrafisation' or 'Islamisation', the strengthening and purifying of orthodox Islamic mores and practices. Jeffery states that it is the 'nouveau riche' who attempt to Ashrafise, while the 'old wealthy' tend to Westernise their norms of behaviour. While conceding that such a categorisation only provides caricatures of the two types of reference group (Ashrafised and Westernised) in Pakistan and does not cover subtleties and variations, Jeffery makes the point that what is important

is not so much the content of the life-styles (which show many variations) but the ways in which people legitimate their life-styles: here the notions of being 'noble' or modern divide more clearly than the the specific types of behaviour which might be entailed in 'noble' or modern life-styles (*ibid.*, 38)

It is difficult to see this sharp divide, either in terms of content or orientation, in Pakistan today for the general trend in most sectors of society appears to be towards a renewed pride in Islamic ideology and practices. While it is true, for example, that many old-wealth families are lax in their religious duties and observances, favour Western education for their children and even allow their women freedom from purdah, their orientation is still towards an Islamic framework of ideas and behaviour: extended kin ties are still regarded as important as are notions of izzat and respect for elders; marriages are still, by and large, traditionally

arranged and few women pursue an education or career after marriage; young people today are wary of aping Western fashions and there appears to be a resurgence of nationalism amongst them. Old wealth 'modern' families also consider reprehensible the more serious violations of the Islamic code of conduct such as drinking alcohol, gambling, sexual license and courtship leading to 'love-marriages'. It is only a very small proportion of Pakistanis that so indulge and they are constantly subject to disapproval, gossip and be-izzatti (dishonour). In the final analysis it would be exceptionally rare to find a Muslim-born Pakistani, young or old, poor or wealthy, western-educated or not, who did not consider himself or herself a committed Muslim. Indeed, recent political changes in Pakistan serve to illustrate the trend towards Islamisation or Islamic Nationalism. Even before the installation of the present military regime, ex-Premier Bhutto had introduced the prohibition of alcohol for Muslims. The introduction of Islamic laws and penalties by the military regime appears to have the support of large numbers of Pakistanis even though they may be opposed to the military regime itself. Today Pakistan is firmly in the grip of Islamic revivalism.

(e) Purdah and the Position of Women

Pakistanis consider women to be the guardians of izzat. They believe that "the honour of the family resides in the modest behaviour of its women, and this idea is also an element in purdah in Pakistan" (Jeffery op.cit., 28). These ideas find their legitimation in two Koranic verses which deal with the position of women in relation to men:

Men are the protectors and maintainers of women, because God has given the one more (strength) than the other, and because they support women from their means. Therefore the righteous women are devoutly obedient, and guard in (the husband's) absence what God would have them guard (that is the husband's reputation and her own virtue).

(s.iv, vs.34)

and again:

And say to the believing women that they should lower their gaze and guard their modesty; that they should not display their beauty and ornaments except what (must ordinarily) appear thereof; that they should draw their veils over their bosoms and not display their beauty except to their husbands, their fathers, their husbands' fathers, their sons, their husbands' sons, their brothers or their brothers' sons, or their sisters' sons, or their women ... or small children who have no sense of the shame of sex.

(s.xxiv, vs.31)

These verses provide the legitimation for purdah (the seclusion of women) but they are not in themselves complete explanations of the phenomenon:

Purdah among Muslims is obviously related to the broad lines of the status of women in Islam, but it is an illusion to believe that this status can be fully explained in terms of the Quran and the commentaries (Papanek 1973, 305).

Jeffery makes the point that the seclusion of women is not the sole prerogative of Islamic societies but can be found in one form or another right across Eurasia ranging from Hindus in South Asia through the Balkans and some parts of north-western Europe to the Iberian peninsula. "The seclusion of women is a very general phenomenon - and not found just among Muslims - and Islamic ideals alone (whatever they might be) can only give a very limited insight into it" (Jeffery 1979, 23). Explanations of purdah in terms of Islamic ideals emphasise the notions of izzat (honour) and sharm (shame or modesty); these are essentially 'emic' explanations and so are, at best, only partial answers.

Values - which no doubt legitimate the seclusion of women - must be related to other elements of social organization and not considered in isolation. It is not that 'Islamic ideals' or 'honour and shame' are unimportant, but that they are related in complex ways to other features in societies where women are secluded (idem.)

Before seeking explanations for the institution of purdah it is important to describe how it manifests itself in Pakistani-Muslim society. In the most visible form it entails the wearing of the burqa, a loose

over-garment with attached veil covering the woman's face and body, though styles vary with wealth, class and region. The physical and social distance imposed by the burqa may be conceived of as enhancing what is emically regarded as femininity: "Sexuality, a special sense of vulnerability, and the inability to move freely in public" (Papanek op.cit., 296).

Another fundamental manifestation of purdah is the partition or division of the home into merdana (male) and zenana (female) quarters, once again a physical segregation emphasising social distance. Other mechanisms of purdah are the allocation of special public spaces for women (e.g. in buses and cinemas) and the division of labour:

The allocation of labour in a purdah society is the counterpart of the allocation of living space. Women work inside the house and courtyard at tasks which include food preparation, cleaning and maintenance of house and possessions, child care, handicrafts such as spinning, sewing, weaving and embroidery (ibid. 309-310)

Jeffery (1979) points out that social stratification is an important (if not the fundamental) element in purdah.

Keeping women in seclusion may be something which most people desire, but it can entail expenses which the very poor cannot meet. The income which a woman could bring if she were economically active outside the home must be forfeited, more extensive domestic quarters may be required, the assistance of servants may be called for, even a special garment to conceal the women when they leave their homes may be beyond the purses of the poorest. On several counts, the seclusion of women has to be seen as a 'luxury', a status symbol, in which only the relatively wealthy can afford to indulge themselves (op.cit., 25).

Seclusion also ensures that marriages are arranged, for single men and women are not able to find spouses for themselves. This not only bolsters kin solidarity but also allows families to make economically and politically advantageous matches which in turn increase their social worth and enhance their izzat.

In stratified social systems, a common feature is the emulation of the rich by the less wealthy;

and to this day, in India, purdah is widely - though not universally, it must be stressed - associated with respectability and family honour. Purdah is part and parcel of stratification in India (ibid., 31).

In urban Pakistan, then, the lower-middle and middle-class women do not work outside the home. They are veiled when they leave the house and are usually escorted by other women or by male members of the household. The home itself usually has a zenana section and the continued physical seclusion of women ensures the continuance of the arranged marriage system.

In its broadest sense, the purdah system is related to status, the division of labor, inter-personal dependency, social distance, and the maintenance of moral standards as specified by the society (Papanek op.cit., 292).

(f) Marriage and Child-rearing

It is desirable for a girl to be married between the ages of fifteen and eighteen though men are expected to marry much later, usually between the ages of about twenty-five and thirty-five, when they have completed their education and are secure in their jobs. Marriages are arranged by parents, the mother generally initiating the procedure, sometimes through the agencies or a go-between, and the father tying up the formal and financial arrangements. Marriages within the biradari are highly favoured and a marriage between paternal parallel-cousins is strongly desirable; such a marriage would tend to keep wealth within the family because the daughter is an important beneficiary under Muslim laws of inheritance. A girl's eligibility for marriage is measured according to the social and 'moral' status (that is, the izzat) of her family and according to the value of the dowry and the inherited wealth she is likely to bring to her husband's household. A man's eligibility also rests upon the socio-economic status of his family, and, more recently, on his personal educational and occupational situation; doctors, lawyers and engineers are particularly favoured as potential husbands in urban Pakistan today. Weddings are

celebrated with as much ostentation as finances will allow and are an explicit statement of the wealth and circumstances of the bride's family who bear the major costs. Weddings are one of the major items of conspicuous consumption and legislation has recently been introduced to curb excesses. Marriage is deemed to be for life and divorce is extremely rare because of the shame and dishonour it carries.

In the urban situation married couples still tend to have a large number of children for several reasons. Sons are an investment for the future, for it is they who will take care of aged parents in the absence of a system of social welfare; contraception is still regarded with suspicion, fear and embarrassment; since sons are so important and the infant mortality rate high, a couple will continue to have children until they have at least two grown sons.

The socialization and education of the children in the home is the responsibility of the mother, though she does not instruct them in a direct or formal manner; rather they learn by observation. It is the mother who is in closest contact with the children, and their relationship with their father is generally remote, formal and of a highly respectful nature. Other female kin (older sisters, cousins and aunts) lend a hand in child care, though it is the grandmother who is most influential in the socialization/education process; she undertakes religious instruction, relates stories and folk tales and can often be called on to intercede in conflicts between parents and children.

Urban children start attending school at about the age of seven. Education is highly valued for boys but girls are generally withdrawn from school at the age of about thirteen, although more are today being allowed to complete their matriculation. A small number of girls find their way to university, and there appears to be a growing tolerance with regard to women in higher education.

There is no concept of adolescence in Pakistan. A person is either a child or an adult. The transition occurs at puberty after which an unmarried girl or boy is colloquially referred to as javan or naujavan (literally, young), that is, eligible for marriage. At puberty it becomes obligatory for both boys and girls to observe religious duties, to pray five times a day and to fast during Ramadan. A girl starts to observe pardah and assumes certain household responsibilities; she is treated and expected to behave as an adult. Because boys stay on at school, they are not expected to behave as responsibly as their female counterparts even though they have formally entered adulthood.

The preceding discussion has dealt only in general terms with the background of my informants because the adult first generation immigrants are not the primary focus of the research and because fieldwork was not carried out in Pakistan. Moreover Alavi, Dahya and Khan have given detailed accounts of the operation of traditional institutions in Pakistani society and Jeffery has provided a full discussion on the urban variations. The points raised here are, however, relevant in considering the social context within which teenage Pakistani girls in London live.

2. Migration

The majority of my informants arrived in Britain between 1960 and 1965, the women and children arriving a year or two after the men. Of the 18 families in the sample, two had arrived as early as 1952 and 1955 and one as late as 1970. As other writers have noted the period of greatest migration was between 1960 and 1962, just prior to the introduction of the Commonwealth Immigrants Act, 1962.

As mentioned earlier, my informants were exclusively female and I was unable to gather detailed information about either the decision to migrate or the process of migration itself. Pakistani wives do not traditionally play a part in decisions concerning their husbands' jobs or activities

outside the home. A man generally discusses such matters with his parents, brothers, uncles or male cousins, and it is only when there is a consensus of opinion that a decision is made. An individual rarely follows his own initiative against the advice of his family members; to do so would be a betrayal of the ethic of mutual support and solidarity that binds the family together. Many of my female informants were unmarried at the time of their husbands' migration and that is another reason why they are so badly informed on the subject. However, given these limitations, a few salient features do present themselves.

Unlike the immigration to the North and Midlands, Pakistani migration to London did not conform to a 'chain' pattern as described by Dahya (op.cit.). An individual generally financed his own migration or was helped only by close kin (father or brothers). There was no obligation to remit money back to Pakistan or to 'sponsor' a kinsman to come to Britain. Some men came to London as students and started working part time to pay their way through college. Few finished their courses of study because of economic hardship and instead began working full time, having meanwhile got married. Others came because a close kinsman (usually a brother or uncle) needed help in running a small business in England. Still others came 'to have a look' without any firm employment prospects. Finally, a substantial number were 'posted' to England by Pakistani firms (banks, trading companies, travel agencies) and decided to stay on in England in other forms of employment, rather than return to Pakistan once their term in England with their original employer had expired.

Although the manner in which people migrated varied, the reasons for leaving Pakistan and coming to England (the 'push and pull' factors) were fairly uniform. For a Commonwealth citizen, further education was cheaper in Britain than in other Western countries with the added advantage of no language barrier (since higher scientific and technical education in

Pakistan is also in the English medium). While the migrants were not exactly poverty-stricken, employment in Pakistan offered little long-term security, while Britain offered the opportunities of higher wages and social welfare.

The various ways in which Pakistanis migrated to London and the absence of the 'chain' pattern, played a large part in determining their settlement patterns, a feature which further distinguishes them from their villager compatriots in the North and Midlands.

3. Settlement and Adaptation

In a demographic study of immigrants in London, Lee (1977) makes an interesting point:

Of all the immigrant groups included in the analysis, the Asian population is probably the one which exhibits the highest degree of group cohesion, especially through religious solidarity and the provision of commercial and professional services for the ethnic group. It is also a group with a relatively high proportion of non-English-speaking members. Yet the various indices of concentration and segregation used in this study show the Asians to be one of the least concentrated and segregated of the immigrant groups. Their spatial cohesion closely parallels, and on some measures is less than, that of Irish immigrants (op.cit., 71).

There are two reasons for this spatial dispersion. As mentioned above, the type of migration influenced the pattern of settlement. There was no chain network and consequently the immigrants did not have many close kin in London with whom they could jointly buy a house; wives and children arrived sooner rather than later and this eliminated the 'dormitory' housing situation that characterises certain phases of settlement in the North and Midlands; single men lived in rented accommodation (usually lodgings) and their first aim, once their families arrived, was to buy a terraced house. Any spatial concentration at the early stages of settlement was a reflection of economic rather than cultural factors. Pakistanis settled in 'working class' areas (rather than in established immigrant ghettos) often living in close proximity with working class whites and other immigrants from

urban backgrounds, and South London is an accurate representation of this. A higher degree of concentration only developed later with the growth of a 'domestic economy' and the special attractions that it held for new arrivals by providing convenient services and goods. However, even today it is difficult to single out any borough, ward, neighbourhood or street in South London as 'typically' or predominantly Pakistani.

The other important reason for spatial dispersion has to do with a certain kind of urban middle-class ethic of upward social mobility that the immigrants brought with them. The urban Pakistanis are keen to distinguish themselves from the Pakistani villagers (dihati) in the North whom they consider to be backward and ignorant, particularly in terms of their exclusiveness and introspection. The Pakistanis in South London believe themselves to be more 'advanced' and sophisticated in being able to negotiate successfully the problems posed by British bureaucracy and society without constant recourse to community or kin, and their settlement pattern reflects this outlook.

In South London the immigrants find themselves categorised as working class (even though they have middle class backgrounds), and engaged in semi-skilled or skilled 'blue-collar' jobs. Many men are employed as clerks, drivers and conductors by British Rail and London Transport; some work for the Post Office; others are electricians and mechanics (see Table 1 below).

Occupations of Men

British Rail and London Transport (drivers, conductors and guards)	6
British Rail and London Transport (clerical)	3
Post Office (clerical)	1
Security Officers	2
Retailer	1
Skilled-Manual	2
Junior Managerial	2
Unemployed	1

Total 18

Table 1

Many women are 'home-workers', sewing clothes on a piece-work basis for contractors; a few are employed outside the home as cleaners, a fact which they attempt to keep well hidden because of the shame and dishonour attached to working outside the home in general, and doing 'dirty work' in particular (see Table 2 below).

Occupations of Women

Home-Sewing on Piece-work	7
Cleaners/Laundry Workers	2
Unemployed	8
	<u>17</u>
Deceased	1
	<u>18</u>

Table 2

Another aspect of the ethic of upward social mobility is the family's desire to start or buy a small business (usually a grocery store) and to cease to be wage-earners.

The Pakistanis in South London still have a 'myth of return' though this is more strongly expressed than actually believed. They remit very little (if any) money back to Pakistan, and the amount that they do remit is usually for the upkeep of close kin in Pakistan, rather than for purposes of investment in land or housing. By buying businesses and houses in Britain (almost 80 per cent of my informants owned the houses they lived in), and by raising their children here, they have made an implicit commitment to the host country. The stage at which most families face a decision about return is when their daughters become javan, a time when parents believe their children to be most susceptible to moral corruption. While several mothers informed me of impending plans of returning to Pakistan with their teenage daughters, none of these plans actually materialised. The idea of a return to Pakistan was used rather more as a threat of exile - a sanction to elicit proper moral behaviour from their teenage daughters. From amongst my informants, two families had returned

to Pakistan to live, but did not stay there for more than two or three years before returning to England for the same economic reasons that had impelled them to leave Pakistan in the first place. Pakistan is still considered 'home' by the adult first generation immigrant, but the 'myth of return' has been watered down to the expression of a desire to 'return home to die'.

The Pakistani community in South London is not as encapsulated as those in the North, and some of the reasons for this have already been dealt with. Added to those are the facts that it is a longer established community, especially in terms of its women, and that the language barrier is more easily overcome; most men were literate in English before arrival in Britain, and most women have learnt enough English since their arrival to allow them to deal successfully with teachers, doctors, salesmen and tradesmen. Khan (1978) finds that South Asians (including Pakistanis) in South London interact across each others ethnic boundaries giving rise to an emerging sense of 'Asian-ness':

The category and identity 'Asian' is ...one that is emerging with increasing significance and use by South Asians in South London. It provides a basis for interaction and organisation which demonstrates the basic similarities among all South Asians in the British setting, in comparison to other populations. (pp. 9-10)

Khan's findings are directly contrary to my own. My adult Pakistani informants were keen to distinguish themselves as Pakistanis and Muslims from other 'Asians'. The age-old Muslim-Hindu rivalry has been imported into the British setting and Muslim parents discourage their children from having Hindu friends. The East African Ahmadiyah Community is likewise avoided by orthodox Muslims who consider the Ahmadiyahs to be heretical. At no time during my entire fieldwork did I witness a non-Muslim visiting (on a social basis) any of the homes of my informants. Likewise, contacts with white society and participation in 'Western culture' are kept to a minimum. Men interact quite freely with whites in the context of work,

but have little to do with them outside this context, because they feel they are subject to victimisation and racial prejudice; moreover because Muslims are prohibited alcohol, another possible arena for social interaction with whites (the local public house) is eliminated. Women have even fewer contacts with white society because they are considered to be more susceptible to moral corruption than men. Moreover their limited English proves another barrier for meaningful communication. Women's contacts with white society are confined to people encountered during shopping; doctors, tradesmen, school-teachers and social workers; at the most it is extended to include a white female neighbour, but only on the most formal basis. On the whole Pakistanis in South London do not seem to be 'structurally integrating' into white society to any meaningful extent. They also remain culturally distinct. The absence of close kin does not mean that Pakistanis have to look to other ethnic groups for companionship and support; friendship networks within the ethnic boundary, based on common interests and problems have replaced the more traditional kin network in this regard. Although biraderi ties are weakened due to dispersal of kin, the network is still important for choosing marriage partners. Moreover visits to and from Pakistan and gatherings at deaths and marriages (in Pakistan) maintain contact within biraderi members as does the lending of financial aid when needed.

My informants have made few changes in their life styles in response to the British environment, apart from those imposed on them by economic exigencies. They continue to follow an Islamic code of conduct and to pursue their own cultural interests. The most important change has been in the position of women, specifically with regard to the institution of purdah which is greatly relaxed in South London. There are no zenana/merdana quarters (though women still do not interact freely with unrelated men), and the burqa has been entirely abandoned. Khan suggests that this is

because white people are not part of the same value-system and are therefore incapable of understanding the implications of purdah:

The virtual abandonment of the burqa ... does not relate to a fundamental change, however, but an acknowledgement that its function of hiding the woman is lost in the new context of Britain. It becomes an oddity that attracts attention and amazement from the local population (Khan 1976b, 106).

For the same reason women have also exchanged the traditional shalwar-qamis for bell-bottomed trouser suits when they venture outside the house. The dupatta, however, is still retained, sometimes in the form of a headscarf.

The urban background of my informants, then, prepared them to cope successfully with, rather than participate fully in, British society and culture, and it was from such a group of Pakistanis that I selected a sample of twenty-one girls from eighteen households. All of these households had one or more of their daughters aged between fifteen and seventeen attending Springvale Comprehensive. Most of the girls had been born in Pakistan but had arrived in Britain before the age of six. Also included in the sample were girls who had arrived at a somewhat later stage but who had had at least two years primary schooling in Britain (see Table 3 below).

Girls' Age on Arrival in Britain

Present Age (1977)	Number arriving before Age 6	Number arriving at Age 6 or 7	Number born in Britain	Total
16 and 17 yr. olds (sixth form)	8	4	1	13
15 yr. olds (fourth form)	7	1	-	8
Total	15	5	1	21

Table 3

This chapter has described the life-styles of adult Pakistanis in

Pakistan and in London, the traditional value system, and the processes of migration, settlement and adaptation to life in Britain. It is hoped that the data provided is substantial enough to illuminate the social context within which the behaviour and ideas of teenage Pakistani girls in London (described in the following chapters) may be understood.

CHAPTER THREE

THE ACTIVITIES OF TEENAGE GIRLS:

HOME AND SCHOOL

This chapter describes the behaviour and activities of teenage girls at school and at home in the context of their social and religious activities and observances, and in the context of their interaction with parents, siblings, kin, peers and teachers. It also describes what parents deem to be 'proper' behaviour for young girls, and their perception of their own role in the socialization and education of their children.

The following discussion utilises source material from research on other South Asian communities in Britain. The research on young Asians has concentrated primarily on Sikh boys (Paige 1977, Thompson 1970 and 1974, C. Ballard 1978 and 1979). By and large I have used such evidence only where it corroborates my own findings i.e. in those contexts where ethnic and sexual distinctions appear insignificant. Where there are important discrepancies and contrasts, I have indicated that these result primarily from such ethnic and sexual distinctions.

Arenas of Social Interaction

The most striking aspect of the lives of Pakistani teenage girls is the division and separation of their activities into two distinct social arenas: the 'domestic' and the 'public'. The domestic arena focusses on the home and includes the homes of relatives and South Asian friends, the local South Asian community, and visits to relatives outside London including visits to Pakistan. The public arena focusses on the school and may include the local college of further education, the local library, educational excursions to museums and lectures including school trips abroad. It follows that the domestic arena is synonymous with Pakistani

culture and values and the public arena with British culture and values. However, this synonymity is not absolute. British values invade the domestic arena through the media and especially through television, while the high concentration of South Asian girls at school ensures that South Asian languages and ideas permeate into the public arena. It should be noted that it is the girls themselves who attempt, as far as possible, to maintain the separation between school and home because they feel that such compartmentalisation is the only way they can successfully reconcile two different sets of values and forms of behaviour: "I never tell my parents what I do in school and that. They don't usually ask; and even if they do I don't tell them everything because they might disapprove or worry over nothing." Parents choose not to know how girls have to behave in school and some "are prepared to allow their children considerable freedom when this is necessary for their careers but they may still demand that they should behave in a very orthodox way at home" (C.Ballard 1979, 118). Paige makes a similar point about Sikh boys in Coventry:

The enthusiasm that parents had for education combined with their ignorance of what really went on at school could come in quite useful for their children. Without giving too much away (and with a little deceit) they could enjoy the best worlds of school and home. They could satisfy their parents in their pursuit of education and, in school, they could meet their friends and enjoy themselves as they liked without getting into any great trouble with either teachers or parents (Paige 1977, 66-67).

The Domestic Arena

1. Residence Pattern

The vast majority of my informants (78.4 per cent.) live in terraced houses which their fathers own, usually having bought them outright rather than on a mortgage basis. The houses have three to four bedrooms, a dining room usually having been converted into a bedroom. Two or three people and sometimes more share a single bedroom. Infants share their parents' bedroom until they are six or seven years old and sometimes for an even

longer period if living space is limited. Siblings of the opposite sex do not share rooms unless the age gap between them is very wide and one of them is pre-pubescent.

The bedrooms are furnished simply and for practicality. The bedrooms of my teenage informants were conspicuous in the absence of wall posters of film, television and popular heroes; such paraphernalia is banned by parents in most cases. Greater care is taken over the decor of the living room which is furnished in an almost totally western style incorporating a three piece suite and coffee table, a television, a record-player or cassette player, and various photographs and ornaments for adornment of walls and shelves. The curtains and cushion covers are sewn by the women of the household. Decor has become more important in the British context because my informants are keen to impress white visitors (health visitors, social workers, English tutors) that they are fairly sophisticated in their style of living.

The typical household is nuclear if the children are unmarried, as is the case with the majority of my informants (Table 4A, next page). Where the children are married, they have brought their spouses to live with them in their parents' home. This trend applies to both sons and daughters whose spouses were imported from Pakistan and marks a reversal, in the case of daughters, of the traditional patri-virilocal pattern of residence after marriage. Such a joint pattern of residence, however, is only temporary and young married couples move out as soon as they are able to find (and afford) alternative accommodation on their own. Few households have close kin living nearby or elsewhere in London. The absence of a grandmother is keenly felt for she is traditionally one of the principal agents in the socialization and education of young children. She undertakes their religious instruction and relates stories and folk-tales. In fact she is perhaps more important than the mother in the learning process, the latter often being busy with infants and household chores. There are

TABLE 4A

SIZE AND COMPOSITION OF HOUSEHOLDS

Type of Household	Under 3 children	3 to 5 children	6 to 8 children	TOTAL
Nuclear	2	9	4	15
Joint or Supplemented-Nuclear		2	1	3
TOTAL	2	11	5	18

TABLE 4B

POSITION OF GIRLS IN RELATION TO SIBLINGS

Age of Girls	Only child	Only daughter	Eldest child	Eldest daughter	2nd-eldest daughter	Youngest daughter	Youngest child	Other (3rd or 4th eldest daughter)	TOTAL
16 and 17 yr. olds	1	2	4	2	1		1	2	13
15 yr. olds		2	2			2	1	1	8
TOTAL	1	4	6	2	1	2	2	3	21
<div> <div></div> <div>No older sisters</div> </div>									

N.B. Girls are categorised only once even though they may legitimately occupy two categories e.g. a girl may be an 'only daughter' as well as 'youngest child' but she is only categorised as 'only daughter' as this is deemed to be the more significant category.

Comment: 13 girls have no older sisters. Thus the majority of girls are involved in establishing rather than following behavioural precedents.

frequent visitors from Pakistan (usually extended family members) who may stay for up to six months. Lodgers used to be a prominent feature of many households, but these become more infrequent as the size of the family increases and as daughters become javan, for male lodgers are seen as a sexual threat.

Epstein has commented on the importance of grandparents in the development of ethnic identity with particular reference to Jews in the United States:

Where, within the structure of the family, authority vests in the parents, and especially the father, we can expect tensions to arise of the typical oedipal kind. These tensions mount as the child approaches adolescence and enters early adulthood, leading to bitter conflicts between adjacent generations and, in a polyethnic situation, to increased questioning, even rejection, of the parents and the values they represent. In this second generation the sense of attachment to the ethnic group is likely to be impaired. But where in the succeeding generation there has been a warm and indulgent relation with the grandparents ... the opposition between adjacent relations is counteracted by the identification that develops between alternate generations. It is in this process of identification with the grandparents that the child comes to associate himself with certain of the values to which they subscribe, and it is in this way that the grandparents come to serve as a symbol of continuity, offering an anchor for the sense of ethnic identity (Epstein 1978, 148).

2. The Activities of Teenage Girls

The household duties and responsibilities undertaken by teenage girls vary according to the girl's age and position in the family vis-a-vis her siblings (Table 4B, p. 91). The eldest daughter either plays a major part in, or is solely responsible for, cooking the evening meal. She is sometimes helped by a younger teenage sister. Younger sisters who do not help in the kitchen are assigned other chores such as laundry, cleaning and tidying, or the care of infant siblings. However, there is no compulsion placed upon girls by parents to fulfil these chores; they are often excused them if they have excessive homework or when they have to study for exams. The girls themselves do not feel

that they have an unfair load of the housework and they rarely shirk their obligations. They do however feel that it is unfair that their brothers are not encouraged to lend a hand.

One of the most important responsibilities that teenage girls have assumed in the absence of a grandmother is the religious instruction of younger siblings in cases where the latter do not attend mosque schools. The instruction is of a purely ritual nature; the children are taught to say their daily prayers and learn to read the Koran in Arabic with no translation or interpretation provided. Their only understanding of religious principles is derived from what their parents tell them in regard to specific kinds of behaviour (for example, the prohibition of alcohol and pork, the seclusion of women and the separation of sex roles).

A small number of my teenage informants (four) either currently held, or had held at some time in the past, part time jobs on Saturday mornings and during school vacations, working primarily as shop assistants or cinema usherettes. There does not seem to be a hard and fast rule amongst parents on this issue, there being no set norm to follow. While parents do not actively encourage daughters to take up part time employment, a few do not seem to mind and see it as a way the girls can earn extra pocket money; other parents are even less enthusiastic but do not regard it as a 'make or break' issue as far as izzat is concerned and they can be persuaded to make concessions; most parents, on the other hand, refuse to allow their daughters to work part time on grounds of izzat, especially if the girl has to wear a short skirt or dress as part of her uniform at work. However, they do not necessarily condemn or criticise those parents who do permit their daughters to work part time.

The leisure time activities of teenage girls are severely restricted in terms of where they are allowed to go and what they are allowed to do. Few are allowed to go out alone except to go shopping, to the local library or to school. When they are allowed out on such occasions, they have to

account to their parents in detail for their activities outside the home and school. Visiting the homes of girlfriends is only permitted in cases where the parents know each other and where the distances between their homes is not great. The girls visit only the homes of Pakistani friends because of parental restrictions on visiting members of other ethnic groups. A considerable amount of the girls' spare time is spent entertaining visitors and house guests and in visiting, together with parents, the homes of distant kin or parents' friends. In this way parents ensure the selection of their daughters' friends outside school. Visits to the local Indian cinema are again a family venture and few girls have ever visited the English cinema. Visits to pubs, either with friends or family, are out of the question because of the prohibition of alcohol for Muslims, as are visits to most restaurants because of Islamic dietary restrictions. In fact, so restricted are the girls' activities outside the home that they are often unfamiliar with even their immediate environment; one girl was unable to direct me from school to her home by any route other than the bus route that she used each day. Many girls were unable to tell me where the local CRC or Asian youth centre were. Visits north of the river were even more infrequent, and none of the girls had ever been 'down the West End' or to a discotheque, activities taken for granted by their non-Asian peers.

Sewing, embroidery and knitting are popular pastimes with most girls, and are actively encouraged by parents for they are regarded as necessary skills which enhance a girl's eligibility for marriage. The girls, in fact, sew and knit most of the clothes they wear at home. Few girls read for pleasure and there is a noticeable absence in the home of books, newspapers or magazines in either Urdu or English. Indoor board games or card games are not popular either and girls, by and large, are not interested in sport. On the whole, children have few toys and possessions. Parents do not 'play' with their children, nor do they participate in their activities

where these are separate from joint, family activities. This does not imply that parents ignore their children, only that they fail to recognise that their children may have other interests which they may want to share with parents. Although younger children may be left to amuse themselves, they are free to participate (in fact actively encouraged to do so) in family outings and visiting. They are free to join any adult conversation or discussion they wish and are rarely told to leave the room to give adults privacy.

Ballard has noted the strong effect of such activity on a young child's learning of traditional values and forms of behaviour:

An Asian child in Britain learns very early in its life that it is part of a wide and stable family group. The bonds of affection within this group, the security which it provides for its members and the group's sense of its own identity are very strong. From its earliest infancy a child will receive attention and care from a number of adults and older siblings. Even if the household is small, its members will spend much time exchanging visits with relatives and friends who, in the absence of the full kinship group, take on the role of quasi-kin. Small children are constantly carried, cuddled and kept amused and there is little separation of adult and child activities. The smallest children are taken on family outings, they are present at all ceremonies and they are not sent away when adult functions and discussions are taking place. Allowances are made for children, but their needs are not seen as being very different from the rest of the family. They are participants in all family events and because of this they learn to behave responsibly at an early age. They learn by example and through play, which often imitates adult activity, the behaviour which will be expected of them as they grow up. Imitative play gradually develops into real help, so by the time a child is seven or eight years old it will be taking an important part in the work of the household, looking after smaller children, performing minor domestic tasks and helping to entertain guests. As a member of the family group the child is expected to share everything with others. The emphasis is always on 'we' and 'ours' rather than on 'I' and 'mine' and the demanding of exclusive attention from parents is not greatly encouraged (C. Ballard 1979, 112-113).

In a study of Italian-Americans in Boston's West End, Gans distinguished three types of families that characterise modern American society, 'adult-centred', 'child-centred' and 'adult-directed'. The latter two are prevalent among lower-middle and upper-middle class families

respectively where children are planned. Such families are characterised by the subordination of the adults' own pleasures in favour of the children's needs and demands or in order to guide them toward a way of life parents consider desirable. The Boston West-End families conform to the 'adult-centred' pattern as, in many regards, do Pakistani families in London, and this pattern is reflected in socialization practices. 'Adult-centred' families are prevalent in working-class groups and are run by adults for adults, the role of the children being to behave as much as possible like miniature adults:

Since children are not planned, but come naturally and regularly, they are not at the centre of family life. Rather, they are raised in a household that is run to satisfy adult wishes first. As soon as they are weaned and toilet-trained, they are expected to behave themselves in ways pleasing to adults. When they are with adults, they must act as the adults want them to act: to play quietly in a corner, or to show themselves off to other adults to demonstrate the physical and psychological virtues of their parents. Parents talk to them in an adult tone as soon as possible, and, once they have passed the stage of babyhood, will cease to play with them. When girls reach the age of seven or eight, they start assisting the mother and become miniature mothers. Boys are given more freedom to roam, and, in that sense are treated just like their fathers (Gans 1962, 56).

Television and radio are the only forms of Western entertainment teenage girls are allowed access to. Independent Television programmes are preferred to BBC programmes, and light entertainment programmes (situation comedies and 'soap operas') are preferred to the more 'serious' programmes (news and current affairs and documentaries). The Sunday morning programme for Asian viewers is also a favourite as is the Indian film music request programme on Radio London.

An interesting feature of the girls' activities is that a growing number of them are learning how to drive, with the active support and encouragement of parents. Some take driving lessons from authorised schools, while those whose families own cars are taught by their fathers or brothers. There does not seem to be any uniform reason underlying this

pattern. It appears that parents feel that this is a constructive and 'safe' way to channel the energies and spare time of their daughters; besides it serves an 'educational' purpose in that it involves the acquisition of a specific skill.

3. Religious Practices and Observances

There is no clear cut distinction in the minds of either parents or teenage girls between religion and custom and so 'religion' encompasses a vast area of social practice. In addition to prescribing certain rituals, it regulates such things as diet, marriage, manner of dress and general appearance and demeanour. The degree of adherence to such religious principles varies from family to family, but there are a number of common features.

In the domestic arena, girls dress in the traditional shalwar-qamis with a dupatta draped lightly round their shoulders. When an unfamiliar Pakistani male enters the room, the girls cover their heads with the dupatta and usually withdraw into another room. Hair must be grown long and always tied back in a plait or bun; short hair, or hair that is kept loose is a sign of immorality. Cosmetics are used only on special occasions such as weddings or festivals.

Religious instruction is undertaken by either the mother, elder sister or the local mosque school. Iqbal (1977, 397) estimates that of the 100,000 or so Muslim children in British schools, some 10-20 per cent receive religious education in mosques or similar religious institutions. As mentioned earlier, such education consists of ritual instruction; children learn to read and recite the Koran and their daily prayers in Arabic. Such instruction generally ceases at puberty (deemed to be age nine for girls and age eleven for boys) by which time children are required to have completed their learning. Two important ceremonies, the Bismillah and the Amin, are associated with this process of religious training, and both

are celebrated with as much enthusiasm and expense in Britain as they are in Pakistan. The Bismillah marks a child's commencement of the reading of the Koran. There is a tea party to which relatives and friends are invited, and under the guidance of a maulawi, the child recites the first verse of the Koran. A similar gathering is held on the occasion of a child's Amin, the completion of the reading of the Koran, and on this occasion the child recites the last verse of the Koran. The time between the Bismillah and the Amin is normally about three years and the Amin must be celebrated before or at puberty.

Although the five daily prayers are obligatory for all persons who have reached puberty, the constraints of attending school in Britain make this practically impossible. As a result most girls have become lax in this regard and on their own admission pray 'only sometimes' or 'whenever possible'. Parents do not supervise prayer (although they take great care to teach it), and because women do not pray in congregation, it is not difficult for girls to avoid saying their prayers altogether.

Almost all the girls fast during the month of Ramazan, not only because it is incumbent upon them to do so, but also because their parents fast and the daily commensal routine is altered during this period; moreover the girls maintain that they feel guilty if they eat while others fast. Muslims fast between sunrise and sunset each day during the month of Ramazan, and this can be particularly trying if Ramazan falls during the English summer when the days are sixteen or seventeen hours long. The breaking of the fast at sunset (iftar) is something of an occasion each day and special kinds of particularly appetising foods are cooked. Social gatherings are more frequent during Ramazan as people come together for iftar parties.

The end of the month of fasting is marked by an important Muslim festival: Id-ul-Fitr. Children take a holiday from school and have new clothes for the occasion. The day is spent visiting relatives and friends and children receive presents of money (idi) from adults. Id-e-Azha, which

marks the end of the Hajj (pilgrimage to Mecca) season, is celebrated in much the same manner with one important variation. Traditionally, each household that can afford it offers a ram in sacrifice to God, to commemorate Abraham's offer of sacrifice. The head of the household traditionally performs the sacrifice himself but this is not viable in the British situation. Instead, families living in Britain instruct relatives in Pakistan to perform the sacrifice on their behalf. Those of my informants who have experienced Id in Pakistan complain that the occasion is a dull one in England; that there isn't much excitement, anticipation and general feeling of festivity because the occasion is not shared by the majority of the population.

Muslim dietary restrictions help promote the encapsulation of the Pakistani community in South London. At home my informants eat only halal meat, while at school the girls eat only vegetarian food or return home for their dinner if they live close enough. Families do not visit restaurants or eat at the homes of non-Muslims, though the teenage girls do occasionally indulge in a take-away hamburger or fried chicken. With one exception, all of my adult informants abstain totally from alcohol, and none of the women smoke.

4. Interaction with Parents

Khan (1972) has noted that the nuclear family structure of Asian families in Britain has had an important effect on traditional forms of child-rearing: there is a lack of surrogate parents for children, a lack of emotional and physical support for mothers and a loss of involvement of grandparents in the socialization process. This relative absence of kin members, especially in the South London context, has meant that the role of parents has assumed even greater importance in the socialization and education of children. Brah has likewise observed that in Southall kinship structures are fragmented and that the young are growing up without the direct socializing influence of the extended family.

The influence of the immediate family remains strong, however, and is reinforced by the presence of a relatively high concentration in the area. This influence acts as a cohesive force in maintaining the continuity of cultural norms deriving from the social structure in the subcontinent. The continuity is further assisted by the growth of businesses in the area catering specifically for Asian tastes... (Brah 1978, 198).

Here I will describe the relationship between teenage girls and their parents in the context of domestic conflicts and their resolution. In order to do so, I will first discuss what parents perceive to be 'proper' behaviour for teenage girls.

Ballard has described traditional Asian values which are important in the family context of child-rearing.

Relationships within the family are affectionate but hierarchical: great emphasis is placed on respect for elders, on restraint in relations between the sexes and on maintaining the honour and good name of the family. The interests of the group always take precedence over those of the individual members. Within the group roles are clearly defined, goals are shared and no great emphasis is placed on the development of an exclusive personal identity (C.Ballard 1979, 111-112).

Khan has also identified fundamental elements of traditional Asian socialization. These include:

the clear-cut hierarchical relationships with their ascribed rights and duties vis-a-vis every family and kin member and a strong loyalty and subordination of the individual to the group. The warmth and spread of emotional ties within the privacy of the family and kin group contrasts with a formality in public involving a strict segregation of the sexes and respect for elders. From an early age children learn the appropriate behaviour, for each category of person and setting, by observation rather than instruction and they are expected to adopt certain responsibilities and domestic tasks (Khan op.cit., 5-6).

The following, fairly typical remarks of one Pakistani mother in South London (translated from the Punjabi) serve to illustrate what parents believe constitutes 'proper' behaviour for teenage girls both traditionally (i.e. the ideological conscious model), and in the new context of Britain in situations where circumstances impose changes

(i.e. the immediate conscious model).

"Girls should respect their parents and love their brothers and sisters. They should be aware of their culture and traditions and act accordingly, especially where religion is concerned. They should obviously know their own language because when they go back to Pakistan, English will be of no use to them. All this will help them in the long run.

These days the children are very stubborn and obstinate and argue a lot. I don't know why children raised in England are this way. They just will not take 'no' for an answer until we explain things to them and provide them with evidence for our argument.

My husband used to tell me to go back to Pakistan with the children because the social environment in England was bad for them. But now Pakistan has changed so much, and the society there too has become much freer. My parents never even allowed me to use a radio, they were that strict. We were very frightened of our parents and of our husbands after marriage. We were shy and repressed. I don't think that extreme was good for us and I'm not so strict with my own children.

There's a limit to the restrictions you can impose on children. If they live in this country they have to follow the customs to some extent, so what can one do? All you can do is pray that the children will turn out all right living in an alien environment like this, where there's no religious guidance, not even an azan (call to prayer).

Our daughters stay at home. We don't allow them too much freedom because that's not a good thing. It isn't right for a girl to be out alone till all odd hours of the night; she would only get into trouble. If we allow our daughters as much freedom as English girls, they will only get spoilt. The English also have some good traits, but our girls only 'catch' the bad habits.

The children don't say their prayers very often because what with school and homework and everything, it's just not possible. I'm not very strict about it because there just isn't enough time to supervise all their activities. Some people say that our children are becoming Christian because of the education they get in school, but I don't really think it affects them that much.

I don't think it's right that our sons should have more freedom than our daughters; they should be treated the same or our daughters begin to feel it's unfair. I have never allowed my daughter to do all the housework while my son loafes around. I don't think that's fair,

and that's one Pakistani custom that I totally disagree with. It's a very old tradition. My husband doesn't agree with me. He never allowed our daughter to take swimming lessons when she was younger because he didn't think it was proper for a girl to take an interest in sport. Our daughter was very disappointed and resents it to this day.

At first I didn't like the idea of my daughter getting a part-time job because the women in our family have never worked outside the home. But she started wanting more money to buy things as she got older, so she got herself a job and presented us with a fait accompli. My husband objected strongly because he didn't want her mixing with people outside and being influenced by them, but I managed to persuade him that it was all right. I don't particularly want her to take a job after she's finished school, though; but if she insisted there isn't much one could do."

On the role of parents:

"It is my responsibility to make sure that the children grow up with proper attitudes and behave properly. My husband does not usually interfere with this because it does not do for parents to disagree about decisions relating to a child's behaviour. For example, if I forbid a child something, and my husband then allows it, this is confusing and bad for the child.

Arguments with daughters arise over several things. For example there are the tight clothes people wear in this country. You have to wear Western clothes to go out in the society here and the children particularly like those awful tight jeans. But such arguments don't arise very often. My daughter has never provoked me. Other girls, for example, tell their parents they want to go out with boys, but my daughter has never mentioned such things to me. We have brought her up in a very straightforward and simple manner. When the children do argue with us, we always try to explain things to them. I punish the children by sending them to bed without dinner or by making them stay home during the weekend. My husband used to beat them, but I couldn't bear it and he's stopped now.

We've started to give the children pocket money because that's the custom here and it stops them having to steal."

On marriage:

"Girls should not get married later than the age of twentytwo, the earlier the better; because the older a girl gets, the more difficult it becomes for her to have children. It's best that she should get

married within the biraderi. I think it's important nowadays to select a bridegroom not only on the strength of his family background, as in the old days, but also on his own merits. He should have a good profession and good habits and should respect the girl. It would not be permitted for our daughter to meet with a boy we had chosen for her to marry, though of course we wouldn't force her to marry anyone she disliked."

As it can be seen there have been certain changes in the British context in what parents are prepared to consider acceptable conduct for their children. Most parents, for example, are willing to let their daughters stay on at school even beyond the age of sixteen; others allow their daughters to work part time; all parents have made concessions regarding clothing and appearance. But perhaps the single most important feature that has arisen in the British context is the parents' increased tolerance of what they regard as negative and rebellious attitudes in their children. Parents are very aware of the difficulties of raising children in an alien environment. They fully realise that they cannot ignore the influence of the western way of life on their children and cannot continue to raise their children as they might have done were they living in Pakistan. Whilst parents do get annoyed when their children argue with them or question their authority or opinions, they have come to accept such arguments as inevitable and are becoming increasingly tolerant of them; the blame for what parents regard as stubborn and wilful attitudes in their children is attributed to the corrupting nature of western society, rather than to any weakness or failing in a child's character.

Parents' attitudes to western culture and society are determined by features which are unfamiliar and perceived as being threatening to the 'Asian' way of life and as having a negative effect on children.

Many Asian parents find British education very mystifying and they fear its effect on their children. Pre-school education, the lack of formality in school, the free mixing of the sexes, the idea that children learn at their own speed and not by rote are unfamiliar notions. In the schools of the sub-continent children are generally not encouraged to be questioning and assertive or to develop their own aptitudes in their own way. Careers tend to

be chosen because of the prestige or perquisites which they might bring to the family in the long term ... English family life is also puzzling and threatening to many Asian parents. It seems insecure and cold and there appears to be little respect for the older generation. Marriages break up, old people go into homes and children into care for what seem to be the flimsiest of reasons, and sexual licence is visible everywhere. Such behaviour is inhumane and outrageous by Asian standards (C.Ballard 1979, 113-114).

Paige (1977, 63) has also remarked that parents of Punjabi boys in Coventry are worried because they feel their children are too cut off from Punjabi society and too exposed to western society. Parents often nagged their children about the corrupting nature of western society in an attempt to stop them 'taking the English attitudes'. This often had a negative effect, and children who would otherwise have conformed got fed up with their parents' constant harping on the subject. How could school be any good if it was English?

Another important area where the ideas of parents are changing is on the issue of further education for girls. Parents' attitudes to further education vary from family to family depending partly upon how well the girl fares academically, and partly upon the amount of pressure exerted by relatives in Pakistan to get a young girl married. One mother commented: "We have not thought about getting our daughter married just yet. She's not the type; she wants to study and we won't force her to get married just yet. But if we go to live in Pakistan and she receives a lot of proposals, then there is a lot of pressure." Parents never actively encourage their daughters to study or to try and get into University. If however, the girl herself is enthusiastic and is academically successful, some parents may be persuaded to change their minds. Others may be under too much pressure from relatives in Pakistan to consent. To avoid a conflict with their daughters on the marriage/career subject, a number of parents have their daughters' nikah ceremony (the signing of the marriage contract) performed when the girls are twelve or thirteen years old, though such

marriages are not consummated and the couple do not live together until the girl has left school. Ballard has noted that:

Among Muslims, who prefer marriage with close kin, siblings and cousins often promise their children to one another long before they have reached marriageable age. There may, therefore, be a long-standing obligation to bring over a fiancé(e) to Britain (C.Ballard 1978, 188).

On the subject of arranged marriages, parents maintain that the girl always has the right of refusal and is never coerced into a marriage she does not want. However, it often happens, that so much indirect pressure is exerted on the girl from all sides that she finds it extremely difficult to exercise her right of refusal.

Whilst there have been some modifications in parental attitudes concerning age at marriage and deferment of marriage in favour of higher education, the arranged marriage system itself has survived intact its transition to Britain. Most writers on the subject have commented that Asian marriages in Britain are still very much a traditional affair, arranged as a contract between two families to maintain or enhance izzat. "In order to maintain its 'izzat', a family must send its daughters in marriage to families of equal status. To enhance its 'izzat' it must do better" (C.Ballard op.cit., 184). Thompson finds a similar link between marriage, kinship and izzat in the marriage practices of Sikhs in Coventry.

As marriage continues to be a joint family affair, with the alliance forged between families as important as that between individuals, a boy's membership of his kin-group is of great importance. Punjabi girls are only available as brides through traditional channels; a boy is dependant on his family for a wife, so he cannot afford to disregard them ... To this extent the prospect of marrying by custom depends on behaviour before marriage that conforms to a code of which that marriage is a part (Thompson 1974, 245).

As to the future of the arranged marriage system, Ballard has predicted that "As long as families remain tightly organised, so that marriage is as much a contract between two families as between two individuals, it seems likely that family involvement in marriage will continue"

(C.Ballard 1979, 125). However, while parents continue to uphold their strong support for the arranged marriage system, they are fearful, and justifiably so, that their children do not share this commitment.

General discussion between parents and children about marriage before the actual arrangements are set in train seem to be quite unusual. Almost all parents are fearful that their children, and particularly their daughters, will be 'spoiled' by contact with English mores from which they attempt to shield them with varying degrees of strictness. They believe that participation in family and community activities will socialise their children in the 'right' way, enabling them to internalise the values of loyalty to the family and of upholding its honour. When the time comes for marriage, they expect their children to understand, without having to have it spelled out for them, why spouses must be chosen with the interests of the family as a whole in mind (C.Ballard 1978, 186).

While parents recognise and even endorse certain changes in the norms of behaviour that have occurred in the British context, these norms have not evolved as a result of consensus within the community (for there is not that strength of community in South London), nor as a result of the pronouncements of Pakistani leaders or mullas; rather they have evolved in each individual family in response to specific contingencies that arise in the new context of Britain, and this has affected the roles played by parents in the socialization of children. In Pakistan, the rules of behaviour are more or less clearly understood by all concerned; the mother's role consists only of ensuring that her children do not break the rules, that is, her role is purely the executive one of social control. In Britain, on the other hand, the rules of behaviour have to be redefined in order to cope with the novel situations that arise when school-going children are exposed to different norms of behaviour. The father, who had hitherto played no active part in the socialization process, now assumes a legislative role in 'laying down the law' on specific issues where no precedent exists. This is not to dismiss the part played by the community as a whole in redefining social norms, for a precedent set in one family can quickly be adopted by others. Moreover, parents are very

sensitive to the criticism of their Pakistani neighbours and they take care to ensure that deviations from traditional social norms are not too radical. However, it must be pointed out that in certain areas of behaviour, the issues are vague or unfamiliar enough to allow variations between individual families without endangering izzat, as long as such variations occur within the more general framework of an Islamic code of conduct. Thus, for example, while it may be acceptable for some girls to attend a mixed-sex school or college, it is quite unacceptable for any girl to interact freely with her male peers outside school.

The problem of redefinition of norms of behaviour arises in the context of one major vexed question for the parents: What is the social status of a post-puberty school-going girl? In Britain parents suddenly find that their daughters are internalising the concept of adolescence and 'teenage-hood' and are behaving or wanting to behave in a corresponding fashion. In Islamic legal and normative terms they are adults after they have attained puberty, yet they stay on at school even after this transition and therefore they do not assume the responsibilities of full adulthood. They are treated by their parents as adults and are expected to behave as such; yet they prefer the company of their peers and often find themselves in conflict with adults, displaying attitudes that their parents can only regard as stubborn and childish (ziddi).

Literature on adolescence often notes a feeling on the part of teenagers that they are not well understood by their parents. In the case of Asian adolescents, such a feeling may only partially be attributed to the state of adolescence. It may also be due in part to the fact that the locus of early socialisation of the two generations is separated not only in time but also by countries with differing social and cultural systems. Not having attended school themselves in Britain, the parents are often not aware of the cross-pressures to which their offspring may be subjected. This is not to suggest that they do not attempt to understand their children, but that certain features of their children's socialisation outside school (sic) are beyond their own range of experience (Brah op.cit, 203).

The level of communication between the Pakistani parents and teenage

daughters in South London is generally low, though variations can be attributed to differences in temperament rather than to any sociological variable. The girls do not discuss their school activities with their mothers because they feel that their mothers might disapprove or because they simply aren't interested. The girls' questioning and reasoning attitudes on aspects of traditional culture are discouraged by parents as being rude and wilful, and this closes up another avenue of possible communication.

There are many parallels between the critical and rebellious attitudes of Asian and Western adolescents. They may argue with their parents about the same things but by their mid teens young Asians are under particular stress. The orientation of their parents' lives may be increasingly exposed as being remote from the British norms with which they are becoming familiar. They may criticise their parents' rejection of British cultural styles. They may become less willing to accept the unquestioned beliefs and assumptions of their parents, particularly as their education encourages them to demand explicit rationales for everything. ... Well educated, intellectually enquiring children may be able to obtain only an unsatisfying fragmented understanding of their own culture (C.Ballard 1979, 115).

Intergenerational tension is further aggravated because language is an important barrier to effective communication:

One of the crucial factors in the dynamics of minority families in Britain, ... is difficulties of communication resulting not only from differences in experience, age, generation, orientation etc. but simply in use of language. Many parents particularly Asian mothers, have found their inability to understand their children particularly distressful. The children's facility in English can disrupt the 'pecking order' in a hierarchical family structure and can cause considerable friction and unease, especially for parents who already feel insecure in this society (because, for example, of treatment received, the rise of the National Front, or the apparent bombardment of an unacceptable Western 'permissive' culture) (Runnymede Trust 1977, 7).

Conflicts between parents and children arise over day-to-day matters as well as over the wider issues of social behaviour. They correspondingly vary in their seriousness and also illustrate the differences in parent-child interaction between fifteen-year-old and seventeen-year-old girls (see cases 5 and 6, pp. 122-123).

Fifteen-year-old girls are constantly in conflict with their parents over day-to-day issues such as manner of dress and appearance, restrictions on social and leisure activities, participation in extra-curricular events at school, and so on. They are far more outspoken and far less respectful than the older girls in arguments with parents and will pursue a point beyond what older girls would regard as a 'safe' stage. Such arguments however, in no way threaten the unity of the family or endanger its izzat, and are typical of the rebelliousness displayed by most adolescents in Western society. In fact they serve to keep open the avenues of communication between parents and children and so make for a healthier relationship. The girls win about as many concessions as they lose, and are often punished for their wilfulness and disrespect of their parents. They may be physically punished, and here it is the shame and indignity, rather than any pain suffered that is perceived to be the effective aspect of such punishment. Another common form of punishment is the imposition of further restrictions on leisure activities. Threat of marriage or exile to Pakistan, and the incurring of sin, shame and dishonour are effective sanctions that operate in order to elicit 'proper' behaviour from teenage girls.

Older girls have learned that it is futile to argue with parents over day-to-day issues, for they recognise that they have gained as many concessions in that regard as they are likely to by the time they are seventeen. The issues that face them (such as those over marriage and career) are more serious. The girls have learned to temper their arguments with discretion, assuming a respectful attitude even though they may be quite persistent in their questioning of their parents' dictates: "I do argue with my parents, but in a nice way of course. It's not really an argument; it's more a sort of discussion on a difference of opinion. I sort of sugar it up a bit, you know." The girls believe that when it comes to the really big decisions, their parents will not force their

decisions upon them. "They'd make a compromise, because they can't have it all their own way you know. It's got to be an in-between sort of thing. I'd want to continue my education and they'd probably want me to give up other things along with it; and I'd do that. It would be a compromise, you know. But I wouldn't be happy if I had it all my own way and ended up hurting my parents; and I wouldn't be happy if I gave in to them." Because of their belief that their parents would ultimately compromise, none of the girls I talked to had ever seriously contemplated leaving home; it was simply regarded as being too drastic a step. "I don't think it would ever come to that. My parents would always compromise. They'd do anything for me, you know. I know I get mad at them and always criticise them, but if I look at them objectively, they are good parents, you know."

It appears that although the girls are critical of many of the values and traditions of the older generation this does not mean that their loyalty and commitment to the family is severely weakened. Vatuk, writing of urban middle-class families in North India attributes this sense of loyalty to the socialization process:

Young people of middle-class families are effectively socialised for submission to parental authority and reliance on parental judgement, and even when disagreements with parents are serious and the urge to rebel is compelling, most young people find themselves unable to act in disregard of the parents' wishes on an important matter (Vatuk 1972, 87).

Ballard makes the additional point that it is the strong emotional bond fostered within and between families and acting as a source of support that prevents children from rejecting their families:

Asian families provide security and warmth, yet pressure to conform can seem suffocating. Involvement in the affairs of their own families binds young Asians into constricting and time-consuming networks of mutual obligation, but they too can derive support from these networks. They know that they are very unlikely to find comparable support and affection if they break with their families (C.Ballard 1979, 122).

Paige emphasises the 'compromise' theme in intergenerational conflict; there

is a vast area of social behaviour that parents regarded as neither 'good' nor 'bad' but as 'in-between' and in regard to which they were willing to compromise. This diffused much potential conflict as parents and children together evolved new or modified forms of appropriate behaviour:

On the whole it seemed to be true that if parents ... 'are proud of their sons they will allow them some freedom but at one point they will stop it', and that children so respected their parents that they did not go far. This left plenty of room for the normal nagging and arguments about clothes ... and about hair ... Attitudes in such cases depended to a large extent on the people involved and the circumstances and they were not fixed (Paige 1977, 67).

While it was not possible due to limited time in the field to verify the regularity with which compromise on major conflicts occurred, the few cases that I did observe, appeared to support the girls' assertion that their parents would compromise on the 'big issues'. The case of Najma (discussed more fully elsewhere) is a clear illustration of this.

Najma is a nineteen-year-old girl, the second daughter in a family of seven children. She has spent most of her life in England and is presently re-sitting her 'A' levels at a Further Education college. About a year ago, she decided that she wanted to go away to University to read Psychology. At first her parents flatly refused to even contemplate the idea. Their eldest daughter had left school at the age of eighteen and had been living at home while the parents were trying to arrange her marriage. They expect Najma to follow suit. Confronted with her parents' denial, Najma became sullen and moody and withdrew herself more and more from participating in family activities. She would stay on at college until quite late in the evenings, ostensibly studying. She became outspoken and hostile in her attitudes to her family and towards Pakistani culture and traditions. This deteriorating situation began to seriously worry her parents and they finally agreed to a compromise: Najma would be allowed to go to university but only in London, with the added proviso that she must live at home. Moreover,

she must study Law or Medicine and not Psychology, the former being considered by her parents as the only acceptable and respectable professions for girls. Najma opted for Law and while she is still hostile towards what she considers to be the repressive and oppressive traditions of Pakistani culture, the crisis which threatened the unity of the family appears to have passed.

The degree of adaptation of parents (especially of the mother) to life in Britain is an important variable affecting teenage girls' behaviour and outlook. It was noted earlier that the new environment of Britain has caused some confusion in the minds of Pakistani parents because Pakistani conventions and customs do not cover all aspects of life in Britain. While they try to live in accordance with broad Islamic principles, there are certain areas of behaviour where these do not apply because they are not specific enough. There being no set guidelines to follow, individual families are faced with decisions which involve the setting of their own behavioural precedents. As a result some families have become more 'westernised' than others in their behaviour and outlook, and the degree of adaptation of parents has directly influenced the ideas and behaviour of their children. It should be noted that a key factor in the degree of adaptation of parents (and children) is the presence or absence of close relatives living in England for these act as pressure groups inducing families to conform as far as possible to Pakistani conventions. Below is an illustration using case studies of two girls and their families, one of which is 'westernised' while the other is more 'traditional'. It should be noted that these cases are extremes and that the outlook and behaviour of the majority of families fall somewhere in-between.

Case 1.

Kulsum is a seventeen-year-old and the youngest of five siblings. She lives in a joint household comprising her parents, two married brothers (aged 32 and 26) and their wives, a married sister (aged 23) and her husband

and infant child, and an unmarried brother (aged 18). There are also close relatives (uncles, aunts and cousins) who live at nearby Oxford and who visit frequently. Kulsum's parents are extremely traditional in their outlook owing to one major factor: they are Quraish - high caste Ashraf (pure) Muslims who trace their descent from the Prophet Mohammed's clan. As such, they are more concerned than most Pakistanis about leading a properly Islamic lifestyle. Kulsum's mother practises strict seclusion (purdah) even in Britain, and Kulsum herself is more restricted in her manner of dress than her Pakistani peers. She wears a dupatta to school and does not wear jeans or tight-fitting clothes. The family moved to Britain when Kulsum was six years old, so her elder siblings, who generally set the behavioural precedents for younger ones, had been reared in Pakistan in the traditional manner and subsequently followed a more conservative life-style than their British-raised peers. Kulsum herself was legally married at the age of eleven when her nikah ceremony (the taking of the marriage vows) was performed (over the telephone) to a man in Pakistan, twelve years her senior, whom she has never met. It is expected that the marriage will be consummated when she leaves school on the completion of her 'A' levels. Kulsum is extremely submissive towards her parents and teachers and is shy and reserved at school. She is critical of western customs in general and, in particular, of the aggressive attitude of some of her non-Asian classmates who, she feels, have no respect for their elders. She is, however, apprehensive and somewhat unhappy about her future prospects particularly as she is a keen student and is interested in further education. The legal marriage, however, presents an insurmountable barrier and one she appears to have come to terms with.

Case 2.

Rabia is fifteen years old and lives in a household comprising her mother, elder sister (aged 17), stepfather and half-brother (aged 2). Her parents were divorced when she was two years old and her mother soon re-married and moved to England with her new husband. Rabia's mother is often the butt of malicious gossip in the local Pakistani community owing to the stigma attached to being a divorced woman. As a consequence she has rejected many Pakistani conventions and professes to be more sophisticated than the local Pakistanis whom she regards as ignorant and backward. She drives a car, wears heavy cosmetics and dresses in a more 'liberal' fashion (e.g. she does not cover her hair and occasionally wears long dresses). Her Urdu is peppered with English words and phrases in an attempt at upward class mobility. Her husband is the manager of a branch of popular English

chain restaurants and the family are relatively better off financially as evidenced by the items of conspicuous consumption in their home. The family have no close relatives in England and prefer to keep themselves apart from the local Pakistanis whom they consider inferior in terms of class and urban sophistication. They are not particularly strict about their dietary habits: although they do not eat pork, they do often eat meat which is not halal and the husband occasionally enjoys a drink of alcohol.

Both husband and wife appear to have very liberal and lenient attitudes about the behaviour of the girls. They are, for example, not strict about the girls' appearance and consequently Rabia frequently uses cosmetics and does not keep her hair tied back. Rabia's mother maintains that she does not believe in strictly arranged marriages (because her own failed) but believes that the parents have a significant part to play in choosing husbands for their daughters and that the final right of approval rests with them. Rabia has a part-time job on Saturdays and school holidays as an usherette in the local English cinema, a job for which the uniform is a short skirt and blouse. She was the only Pakistani teenage girl who was allowed by her parents to go on a school trip to France. Partly because of her family reputation and partly because of her own appearance and demeanour, Rabia is also gossiped about at school. She is sullen and secretive, appears to have few friends, plays truant fairly regularly and is often in trouble with her teachers. She appears not to care what other Pakistani girls think or say about her and her behaviour is certainly not regulated by their gossip. Although she does not interact publicly with male peers (nor do her parents allow her to), there is much gossip to the effect that she does so covertly. Rabia is, in terms of her behaviour, perhaps the most 'westernised' fifteen-year-old Pakistani at her school.

5. Interaction with Siblings and Kin

A girl's relationship with her sisters and pre-pubescent brothers is usually a close and affectionate one. An older sister often has a closer relationship with her siblings than they have with their mother, for she is more sympathetic and understanding as regards the problems they cannot share with their parents. She is the one who will have 'broken the ice' and set all the behavioural precedents which younger sisters will follow, and she will often intercede on their behalf with parents. Moreover, since

she spends so much time baby-sitting younger children, the strong sibling bond is one that is established from a very early age. "Often the role of a young relative [especially an older sister] as a mediator and the bonds of affection between members of the family tend to diffuse potential conflict" (Brah 1978, 204).

A girl's relationship with a teenage or older brother varies from family to family. Traditionally the separation of sex-roles after puberty means that the relationship between brothers and sisters became remote and distant, and they did not participate in each others' activities. While the latter is still true in the British context due to the restrictions placed upon the activities of girls (but not boys), older brothers often play the role of confidantes and advisors, though they are still conscious of their traditional role as protectors and guardians of their sisters' honour and virtue. I witnessed no serious quarrels between older siblings and the relationship between them was generally one of mutual support and trust.

The extent of interaction with wider kin depends upon the degree of spatial proximity of kin group members. As mentioned earlier, few girls have close kin in South London. Some have relatives in other parts of London and mutual visiting and social and financial aid between such households is frequent. Teenage girls contribute by baby-sitting younger cousins, and helping with the cooking and sewing on special occasions. Some families have relatives in other parts of England, whom they visit during holidays and school vacations, and who in turn may visit London. In addition most households have visiting kin from Pakistan staying with them at one time or another. Teenage girls thoroughly enjoy such interaction with kin members, since they have few opportunities to interact with other categories of people in the domestic arena. However they do not feel as committed to wider kin as they do to their parents and siblings and often feel that relatives are too 'nosy' or 'interfering'. Another context

for interaction with kin is when teenage girls visit Pakistan.

A girl's evaluation of life in Pakistan co-varies with her age at the time of the visit and the amount of time she spends there. The evaluation is a positive one if she visits Pakistan before she reaches puberty, and/or stays for only a few months. Pre-pubescent girls in Pakistan have the freedom to wander around the neighbourhood and play with most other children, a freedom that is denied to them in England. An older girl who arrives in Pakistan for a short visit is royally treated as 'London returned' with the status of honoured visitor that is correspondingly accorded her by her kin. From the isolation of living in a nuclear household, she is plunged into a joint family environment and is constantly surrounded by cousins, aunts and other relatives, many of whom are her own age. In addition, she may, for the first time in her life, have the opportunity to interact freely with male peers in the form of her cousins. One of my informants formed a romantic attachment with her male cousin after such a short visit to Pakistan and is longing to return there to be married, a desire which is likely to be fulfilled.

Girls who have lived in Pakistan for one or two years, on the other hand, return a negative evaluation. Their status of 'London returned' wears off after a couple of months and they are subjected to no special treatment or concessions. They find the environment stifling and restrictive: "You can't walk down the street without people staring at you, and everybody's poking their nose into your business, telling you what to do and what to think, and how to dress and that", complained one teenage girl. Another complained that she hated wearing the burqa and also complained of the kind of education she received in a Pakistani school: "They just make you learn everything by heart. You never really understand anything."

Below are two case studies comparing the life styles of girls on long and short stay visits and illustrating their differing evaluations of Pakistani culture and society vis-a-vis the British.

Case 3

Husna is seventeen years old, the only daughter in a family of four children. She arrived in Britain at the age of five and returned to Pakistan for the first time in November 1977 (aged 17). She stayed in Pakistan for ten weeks arriving back in Britain in February 1978, having missed almost the entire first term of school. Husna is a below average student; she attends school only intermittently and professes that she is not interested in her studies. She has no relatives in Britain and no 'best friend' at school. She confesses to being lonely and frustrated at the restrictions on her activities in England. She has been in trouble both at home and at school for playing truant and this has put even further restrictions on her leisure-time activities. She reports that she had a very enjoyable time in Pakistan. She stayed with a maternal aunt in Lahore and was almost constantly surrounded by relatives, many of whom were her own age, and who made a great fuss of her. There were far fewer restrictions on her activities in Pakistan because these always took place in the context of a large group of relatives who acted as chaperones. They regularly went shopping, to the cinema, and on picnics. Every evening almost the entire household went visiting friends and relatives or received visitors at home. It was also the first time that Husna had the opportunity to meet and interact relatively freely with male peers in the form of her cousins. Consequently she formed a romantic attachment to one particular cousin whom she intends to marry. She now wants to return to Pakistan for that reason and is even more unhappy about living in Britain. At first her parents were not happy with the situation because they had intended for Husna to marry someone else. However, faced with Husna's persistence and the intercession of her eldest brother (with whom Husna enjoys a close relationship), they appear to be coming round to the idea. Meanwhile, Husna's entire orientation has shifted towards Pakistan, and she has become even less interested than before in activities in the public/British arena.

Case 4

Najma is nineteen years old and is an elder sister of Razwana and Nusrat (see cases 8 and 9). She is an ex-student of Springvale school and is currently studying for her 'A' levels at a local college of further education. Najma arrived in Britain with her family at the age of five but the family returned to Lyallpur, Pakistan in 1970 (when Najma was aged twelve) for a period of three and a half years, returning to England in 1974. Najma attended school for the period she was in Pakistan but found it difficult as the medium of instruction was Urdu, a language that,

hitherto, Najma had not been literate in. Najma found living in Pakistan particularly oppressive. Unlike Husna, she found the constant attention and proximity of relatives somewhat stifling. She resented being made to wear the burqa and not being allowed to leave the house unchaperoned. Today, Najma is amongst the most vehement critics of Pakistani traditions and culture. She disapproves strongly of arranged marriages and what she considers to be the repressive conditions of Pakistani family life. She resents more than most girls being under strict parental control and intends to leave home for university as soon as she is able. She finds herself more in sympathy with a 'western' way of life than with the Pakistani because, she says, she has experienced both first-hand. She maintains that she never wants to go back to Pakistan.

The Public Arena

1. The School

Springvale school is a large, single-sex comprehensive with about two thousand pupils and a hundred and fifty members of staff. It was originally a state grammar school and was one of the first schools in London to turn comprehensive in the mid-1950's. About 35 per cent. of the student population is 'coloured', with 15 per cent. estimated as being of South Asian ethnic origins. The school is popular with Asian parents because it is single-sex and does not require girls to wear short skirts or dresses as part of the school uniform.

The school is fairly progressive in terms of the provision of facilities and courses for girls from ethnic minorities. It used to have special morning assemblies for Muslim girls in conjunction with the local Ahmadiyah mosque. The Religious Education course is designed to cater for Muslim needs as well: all girls study the Old Testament and then there is a choice between the New Testament and Islamic Religious Knowledge. There are also special English classes for Asian girls who may have difficulty with the language. However, the main curriculum of the school retains its cultural bias in subjects such as literature, history, geography and sociology. The mainstream school in Britain

remains essentially monocultural and monolingual. It does not recognise or accord value to the culture and language of children of minorities and this cannot be said to fulfil the educationalist's aim of developing the overall potential of the child (Runnymede Trust 1977, 8).

The ambience promoted in the school by some teachers and the more socially aware sixth formers, is one of racial harmony and sometimes relatively militant anti-racism. Anti-Nazi League and SKAN (School Kids Against Nazis) posters are in evidence in common rooms and even in some classrooms; discussions on some aspects of race are regularly organised by members of the staff; the school magazine has several features on ethnic minorities written by both the girls themselves and by teachers.

It was difficult to judge the academic and discipline standards of the school as a whole as I had no experience of comparable institutions. Only a handful of girls from a graduating class of about fifty gained admission to University each year. Discipline appeared to be fairly efficiently maintained and there were no major incidents of unruliness during my time at the school. Certainly there were no incidents of racial confrontation.

The uniform at Springvale consists of navy-blue skirts or trousers with either a red or white blouse. Most Muslim girls also wear a long pullover or cardigan so that their hips are covered. Only the most recent arrivals to Britain wear a dupatta. The sixth year girls are exempt from wearing uniform. Parents discourage the girls from wearing tight fitting clothes which accentuate the figure, but the girls generally manage to please their own tastes in this regard: they wear several layers of clothing at home before leaving for school, shed some of it at school and change into shalwar-qamis immediately on reaching home again. Similarly, although they have their hair tied back in plaits when they leave home, at school many experiment with different hairstyles. Such changes in styles of dress and hair, usually occur when the girls have evening classes at the local College of Further Education.

The peer group of the sixth year Pakistani girls is almost exclusively Asian, though within the group itself ethnic and religious criteria cease to be important. The group is comprised of nine Punjabi Sunnis, four muhajir Sunnis, three East African-Punjabi Ahmadiyahs, a Gujrati Hindu and a Sinhalese. The Asian girls form a noticeable clique in the common room where they usually sit together, even when engaged in private study. They do not interact freely with non-Asians, though their relations with them are cordial.

The girls speak with each other in English though they often revert to Urdu or Punjabi when they cannot find an appropriate English word or phrase or when they do not want to be overheard by non-Asians. The range of their conversational topics is fairly limited. They talk about boys at the local college, fashion, Indian films and music, their relatives, social events in the domestic arena and about school work and teachers. They never discuss their own personal problems or difficulties with their parents, in an open forum, for they are afraid of repercussions: their parents might find out and take offence, or they might become the butt of malicious gossip. It is very difficult to introduce wider social or political topics into the conversation because of the girls' almost total ignorance of even the most elementary knowledge of current community, national or international affairs. They also have very little idea of life in the sub-continent and know absolutely nothing of its history, literature, geography, peoples and politics. Not one of the girls was able to name a single Indo-Pakistani historical figure when asked to do so. Another girl volunteered this piece of information about daily life in Pakistan: "You have to be very careful when you go out because there's this tribe - begins with a P - carries girls away."

The peer group structure of the fourth year Asians is in sharp contrast to that of the sixth year girls. The younger girls interact quite freely with non-Asian peers, though they usually have an Asian girl

for a best friend. They participate to a greater degree in extra curricular activities and have shared interests with non-Asian girls. They are far keener to identify themselves with the class as a whole and they can be fairly critical of Asian girls who tend to be ethnically introverted.

There are two principal reasons for the contrast in peer structure noted above. One reason is the even distribution of the younger Asian girls throughout the various forms of the fourth year. There is no great concentration of Asian girls in any one form, the twelve forms having an average of two Asian girls each, so the opportunities for Asian girls to form an exclusive peer group are very limited. The sixth year Asian girls, on the other hand, are heavily concentrated in one form. Moreover, they have plenty of free time to meet and interact in the sixth year common room. The second reason for difference in peer group structure has to do with age. Fifteen-year-old girls, be they Asian or not, are under far greater parental control than seventeen-year-olds. The younger Asian girls find they are able to communicate more successfully with their non-Asian cohorts because at this age both groups are subject to parental restrictions on their social activities and they share activities and interests in common. Older Asian girls however, find that their non-Asian counterparts have begun leading very different lives from themselves; they visit pubs and discotheques, have boy friends, and generally seem to have greater control over their own lives. The Asian girls find the gap between their social activities and their own too wide to allow meaningful communication. Also, as one Asian girl pointed out, "What's the point of being friendly in school, if we can't meet them outside or go out with them."

Variations in age accounts for variation in two important aspects of behaviour: interaction with parents (see p.109) and interaction with peers. This variation between the behaviour of fifteen- and seventeen-year-old girls is here illustrated with case studies of one girl from each age group.

Case 5.

Farhana is a fifteen-year-old girl, the only daughter in a family of seven children. She is in the fourth year at Springvale school and will be taking eight 'O' levels in June 1979. She is one of three Asians in her form of twenty-eight pupils. Farhana is an extremely extrovert and gregarious girl and, although her best friend is a Pakistani form-mate, she mixes easily and freely with her English and West Indian peers. She participates fully in extra-curricular activities at school: she is her form representative on the school council and editor of a form magazine produced by her English class; she attends most special school-based events (plays, films, fetes) and often helps in their organisation. She is an enthusiastic participant in most playful activities, even of the more boisterous kind and is quick to exchange witticisms with her non-Asian peers. She is totally familiar with her classmates' sense of humour and enjoys relating jokes. All in all, she appears completely at ease in the company of both Asian and non-Asian peers.

In interaction with her mother, Farhana displays the rebelliousness typical of a fifteen-year-old. She almost constantly argues with her mother over day-to-day matters relating to manner of dress, demeanour, and leisure-time activities, and is not beyond openly flouting her mother's authority on minor matters. Despite this continual wrangling, however, both mother and daughter independently report that they share a close and affectionate relationship.

Case 6.

Shaheen is a seventeen-year-old, the eldest of five siblings (she has three brothers and one sister). She is in the sixth year at Springvale studying a combination of 'O' and 'A' level subjects. She is one of fourteen Asian girls in the sixth year and is fairly typical in that she does not interact freely with non-Asians. She has a Pakistani form-mate as her closest friend and interacts freely with all the Asian girls in the sixth year. Like most of her Asian peers she does not find much in common with non-Asians; they do not share similar interests and activities or even a similar sense of humour. There is, in fact, something of a communication gap between Asian and non-Asian sixth year girls owing to the former's limited and differing use of English vocabulary and idiom. With her Asian friends Shaheen discusses Indian films and music, fashions and events relative to her own social situation, matters she is unable to discuss with non-Asian counterparts. Her interest in knitting and sewing is also something that arouses the enthusiasm of Asian rather than non-Asian girls.

Shaheen's relationship with her parents is overtly a peaceful one, not marred by the constant quarrels that mark Farhana's relationship with her mother. However, Shaheen's situation is not entirely a happy one. She complains of a lack of communication between herself and her parents particularly now that she has ceased to quarrel with them as often as she used to. She maintains that she is 'being good' in order to persuade her parents that she is worthy of their trust. By giving in to her parents on minor issues, Shaheen believes that she may be able to influence the bigger decisions affecting her future life, such as those relating to marriage and career.

In a study of primary schoolchildren in multi-racial schools, using group preference tests, Davey and Norburn (1980) found that only 55.4 per cent of the Asian sample expressed a desire to have other-group friends and this figure was the lowest of the three groups (West Indian, Asian and White) under survey. Moreover, it was discovered that in-group preference increased with age and this suggests that Asian secondary schoolchildren are likely to be even more insular in their choice of friends than their primary school counterparts. The authors also reported that Asian and West Indian children were likely to favour white children as friends rather than each other. "Despite the fact that both minority groups might be thought to have problems in common in their relationship with the dominant group, their feelings of dislike were directed not towards the host community but towards each other" (op.cit., 59). The implications of peer-group structure in terms of ethnicity and identity are discussed in the next chapter.

The cliquishness of the Asian sixth year girls provides the framework within which a gossip network operates to regulate the public behaviour of the older Asian girls. The girls are conscious of the notion of izzat even in the school setting, and any girl who publicly flaunts the rules of correct behaviour (as understood by the teenage girls) is gossiped about, even though privately many girls would sympathise with or approve of her actions. The girls seem very aware that izzat is a public notion. Privately

they may confess to attitudes and actions which directly contravene parental dictums, but a public declaration of the fact seems only to invite the criticism and disapproval of one's peers. "Gossip is an important sanction against non-conformity and its effect is feared almost as much by the second generation as by their parents" (C. Ballard 1979, 116).

Science courses are highly favoured by Pakistani girls with the active encouragement of parents. Most sixth year girls have 'O' levels in chemistry, physics, biology and mathematics and are retaking the same subjects at 'A' levels. A few Pakistani girls are taking Arts subjects because their grades were not good enough for admission to the Science courses. The 'A' level physics and chemistry classes are composed exclusively of Asian girls. The popularity of the science courses is also apparent among fourth year Asian girls.

A surprising finding of my research is that most Pakistani girls fail 'O' level English Language even though they speak it quite fluently. They speak it with each other in and out of school and with their siblings at home. They confess that they 'think in English' and for many it is the only language they can read or write; certainly for all the girls, it is the language they are most proficient at. Yet although the girls use English as a 'first' language, their acquisition of vocabulary, idiom, and usage is very much behind that of their white counterparts. There are two reasons for this: firstly the older generation of the family does not use English as a medium of communication in the home. This means that not only do the girls have to speak Urdu or Punjabi with their parents, but that, more importantly, they are denied the opportunity of picking up new English vocabulary from their parents as their white peers do. Moreover, since older Pakistani girls do not interact freely with their non-Asian schoolmates, another possible source of vocabulary and idiom acquisition is closed to them. Thus, one Pakistani girl asked me why people tap their heads and

say 'knock wood'. Secondly, the majority of the girls do not read for pleasure. As already mentioned, no Pakistani home I visited subscribed to an English daily newspaper, and English language books or magazines were also not in evidence.

Related to this low achievement level in English Language is the contrast in pupil participation during science and non-science lessons, especially in the case of the older girls. In the science classes, the girls are active participants, volunteering answers and not hesitating to ask questions, while in the non-science classes, the reverse is the case; the girls do not participate even when they are invited to. This dichotomy is directly related to the fact that in science subjects, the jargon of science is specifically taught in the classroom so the girls are equipped with all the vocabulary they need for the subject and generally achieve high academic success. However, in subjects such as sociology or English literature, a prior standard of vocabulary is assumed by the course teacher, and relatively elementary words (for example, 'contemporary', 'random', 'conspicuous') are not explained. It is obvious that the Pakistani girls have difficulty keeping up.

In a study comparing academic performance in multi-racial schools in inner city areas, Driver and R. Ballard (1979) examined school records of pupils at sixteen plus and noted 'O' level and CSE exam results. With reference to South Asian pupils, they found that (i) Asian girls obtained better results than Asian boys (ii) South Asian pupils (especially girls) were more academically persistent than English pupils (especially girls) who displayed a greater drop-out rate (iii) South Asian pupils were superior in terms of mean performance (i.e. overall school achievement) than English pupils (iv) South Asian pupils outperformed English pupils in physics, biology, mathematics and integrated science but not in English. The authors conclude that "Asian pupils achieve higher average results than do English pupils attending the same secondary school" (op.cit., 147-148).

It should be remembered that these were multi-racial schools (i.e. 50 per cent. black) in inner city areas with low overall academic achievement rates. However, the writers maintain that there is nothing to suggest that these results could not be replicated elsewhere.

It seems that South Asian pupils made more effective use of the educational resources than did their English class-mates, even if the mean level of achievement still remained low when set against the global standards of the British educational system (ibid., 148).

The differences in performance between Asian boys and girls are particularly interesting.

The girls obtained higher mean results in all subjects except Physics, and the girls had a markedly better record for school persistence than the boys. While the girls' persistence probably largely reflects parental constraints, their examination results nevertheless indicate that they were exploiting the opportunities available to them with some success. The school records suggest that South Asian girls are by no means so cowed and downtrodden as is often supposed: in fact the reported level of achievement for English girls are far more consonant with such a view of the feminine role (ibid., 149).

Paige has compared the academic achievements of Punjabi (Sikh) and White (English) boys in selected schools in Coventry. He found that although the Punjabis all started their school careers bunched together in the lower ability 'streams' of their primary schools, they made tremendous progress during their secondary school careers:

Of the English Punjabis who started from the bottom in primary school about one in four can be expected to end up on a degree course either at university or polytechnic (compared to less than one in twenty of the whites) (Paige 1977, 140).

Paige attributes the Punjabis' success to their higher achievement orientation - they have the "right attitudes" to take advantage of the opportunities offered; they equate education with qualifications and qualifications with better jobs.

Their attitudes are suited to the new educational system. They come to school to learn, to get qualifications and a better job and they are in school for the competition,

the opportunities and the success. They know that if they leave at fifteen they will be cut off from the learning, the qualifications and the good jobs. In such a situation most want to stay and it is only a few from the B stream, with little option, who willingly leave school and accept working like their parents (ibid., 141).

For Pakistani girls there are additional, largely self-imposed, pressures to achieve academic success. Although parents do not encourage girls to seek either jobs or higher education, they are coming round to accepting some strictly limited career options for their daughters (e.g. law and medicine), all of which require higher education at university or polytechnic. For the girls, therefore, higher education is almost the only means of avoiding an early arranged marriage and establishing some kind of independence for themselves.

On the whole the Asian girls at Springvale school respond well to their teachers, especially to the ones that teach science subjects. They respond equally favourably to both male and female teachers, and there is no evidence to suggest that they respond more favourably to Asian rather than to white teachers; in fact, the Asian physics master is regarded by the girls in rather negative terms. Teachers are usually treated with equal amounts of familiarity and respect and the girls deplore the more insolent attitudes of some of their non-Asian counterparts. The teachers on their part maintain that the Asian girls are amongst the most well-behaved and polite in the entire school and this was borne out by my own observation.

Despite the frequent assumption that ethnic minority children pose major problems for educators, even casual conversation with teachers in multi-racial schools reveals that, by the end of their school career, South Asian boys and girls tend to achieve results which are at least equal to, and often considerably better than, those of their English classmates. Indeed these same teachers comment on the striking over-representation of South Asian children in their Sixth forms (Driver and R. Ballard 1979, 144).

Pakistani girls do not participate to any great extent in the school's various extracurricular activities or courses. Parents discourage the girls

from participating in drama, music or sport. Drama and music are disfavoured because of their traditional associations with prostitutes and dancing girls. When one young boy brought home a guitar from school with the declared intention of learning to play it, his mother scolded him, called him a Mirasi (low-caste musician, usually accompanying prostitutes), and confiscated the instrument. The girls are not interested in most sport, with the possible exception of swimming, though parents even ban this activity when the girl reaches puberty on the grounds that the bathing costume is indecent.

The sixth year Pakistani girls, by and large, do not take an active part in other kinds of extracurricular activities either. They do not contribute to the school magazine, or help organise end-of-term parties or ⁴fêtes (though they do attend), or participate in sponsored walks or other community linked events. They claim that such activities are dominated by non-Asians who do not share their own cultural interests. After the sixth year Christmas party, the girls talked enthusiastically of organising an 'Asian Evening' with Indian food and music, but this did not materialise. The majority of the girls are not interested in the activities of the school council; only one Pakistani girl stood for election and was defeated.

The fourth year Pakistani girls, on the other hand, are enthusiastic about participating in extracurricular activities as far as they are permitted by their parents. They contribute to the school magazine and one girl was the editor of her form magazine. They are generally keen to attend any meeting or event at the school and often lend a hand in organising such events. The differences in the levels of participation between sixth and fourth year girls again relate to the differences in the structure of their peer groups.

2. The College.

The local College of Further Education is situated at a distance of about a quarter of a mile from Springvale school. It provides 'O' and 'A'

Level courses in most subjects as well as various diploma courses. Six Asian girls from Springvale attend evening classes in 'A' Level Chemistry. The reason the girls give for attending college is that their school timetable is too full to accommodate the chemistry course, but this did not appear to be borne out by my own observation. The primary motive appears to relate to the fact that the college is a mixed-sex one which offers evening classes.

The chemistry class is held twice a week and commences at 6.30 p.m. but most of the Springvale girls arrive at about 5 p.m., ostensibly to study in the library. The college cafeteria opens at 5.30 p.m. and is quickly crowded with students. The college has a large concentration of Asians, particularly of young men, many of whom are not registered students but who come to use the cafeteria facilities and to 'see friends'. Other immigrant groups, particularly Turkish Cypriots and Iranis, are also well represented.

The college cafeteria appears to be a popular meeting place for young Asian boys and girls and it is clear that they feel at ease in the place, for the population is predominantly a young one. Inter-sex interaction occurs across most ethnic boundaries though the Springvale girls do not associate with white boys. Interaction does not take place on an individual basis but is more of a group encounter. The Springvale girls usually sit together at a table and a male classmate is likely to come up and join them; he usually has a male friend with him who the girls may or may not know. Gradually other boys who know the first two (but who may not know the girls) also join the group. In this way the girls are likely to make new acquaintances very often. The chatter between the girls and boys is informal and mildly flirtatious, though the girls are very conscious of not getting overly familiar; for example, it must always be the boys who approach the girls and initiate conversations, never the reverse. In this

respect girls do seem to have South Asian notions of inter-sex relations: decorum and modesty on their part, familiarity coupled with respect on the boys' part. It is the boys who must make the overtures (though not blatant or outrageous ones), while the girls for the most part must remain reserved and shy. Such ideas appear to be the result of exposure to Indian films with their own peculiar kind of idea of romantic love, rather than the result of any traditionally recognised or endorsed notion of inter-sex behaviour.

Encounters in the cafeteria rarely lead to further romantic complications, though they do have that potential. A boy does not ask a girl for a 'date' because both parties know that this is socially unacceptable. In fact one of my informants felt insulted when a boy, who she had hitherto liked, asked her to go out with him: "It shows he doesn't respect me if he thinks I'm the kind of girl who'd just go off with him like that." On the whole, though, both boys and girls realise that serious relationships are not viable under their present circumstances, and they seem able to enjoy each others' company within the limitations of that situation. It is important to note that the college provides the only context within which some Pakistani girls can interact relatively freely with boys. It would therefore not be unreasonable to presume that it poses a threat to the arranged marriage system.

Brah has observed that inter-sex relationships between Asian teenagers in Southall transcend caste and religious barriers partly because of the temporary nature of these relationships. The majority of her informants who indulge in covert 'dating' do not expect such liaisons to result in marriage. "Courtship is, therefore seen to be an end in itself rather than a prelude to marriage" (Brah 1978, 199). Although courtship occurs across South Asian ethnic and religious barriers, inter-racial inter-sex relations are extremely rare for several reasons: perceived cultural

differences act as a barrier; whites dating 'coloureds' suffer a lowering of status and so Asians, perceiving this attitude, avoid dating whites; Asians are unfamiliar with western courtship rituals and perceive such relations in stereotypical fashion as permissive, so girls especially are deterred from dating white boys.

Covert 'dating' is generally more infrequent than the observer may be led to believe, and courtship leading to marriage is rarer still. Ballard found covert dating occurring among young Asians in Leeds. "During the period before their marriages are arranged some young people go out clandestinely with boy or girl friends. Some maintain they will only marry for love, but very few have actually done this." (C.Ballard 1979, 123). Brah reports that in Southall 'dating' is rather more generally desired than widely practised.

In conclusion it can be suggested that, while no respondents disapproved of courtship in principle and an overwhelming majority wished they had the freedom to go out with the opposite sex, most were cautious about actual involvement. There is, however, a minority who have begun to court other Asians (Brah 1978, 199).

Access to male peers appears to have a significant effect not only on the girls' present behaviour, but also on their expectations for the future. Although never overtly stated, the girls hope to be able to experience some kind of romantic involvement which may or may not lead to marriage. Many realise that their prospects of finding a mate in this way, who is acceptable to their parents, are slim; nevertheless there is still the opportunity to indulge in light-hearted flirtation and so succeed in fulfilling, if only to a very limited extent, the romantic aspirations that most teenagers have.

Case 7.

Jameela is seventeen years old and is the elder sister of Rabia (see case 2 above). Although an average student with seven 'O' levels, she is not academically inclined and has no wish to pursue further studies or a career after leaving school. She works part-time (in a laundry) and has

prospects of a clerical job on leaving school but she sees this only as a temporary arrangement prior to marriage. Jameela attends chemistry classes two evenings a week at the local college of further education. Although the classes commence at 6 p.m., Jameela goes to college immediately after school at about 4 p.m. She takes particular care of her appearance on the days she attends college and experiments with new hair-styles and fashions. Between 4 and 6 p.m. she spends her time meeting and talking with friends, both male and female, in the library or the cafeteria. She has three admirers amongst her male peers, only one of whom is a student at the college. Naim is a Turkish-Cypriot of about twenty who attends the same chemistry classes as Jameela and who is particularly enamoured of her. He buys her snacks at the cafeteria, brings her occasional gifts and writes her ardent love letters. Jameela enjoys this attention and encourages it but does not reciprocate. Akram is a nineteen-year-old Pakistani boy, the brother of one of Jameela's classmates, whom she also met at the college. There was a mutual attraction and a period of flirtation, but no serious involvement. Habib is a twenty-two-year-old Pakistani mechanic who Jameela met through family friends. Her mother approved of him as a suitable husband and encouraged the initial attraction that Jameela felt for him to the extent of allowing them to go out together. However Jameela now feels that she has been pressured into a commitment she does not particularly want, especially as she does not get on well with Habib's more conservative family. She is engaged to be married within a year but is likely to change her mind.

3. Educational Excursions

Educational excursions include visits to the local library, to museums and academic institutions to attend special lecture courses, geology 'field' trips, and school trips abroad.

Girls visit their local library fairly often, though they have little to show for it in the way of borrowed books. Their primary motive for using the library is that it is an acceptable means of being permitted to venture outside the home. Some girls do use it for private study or homework because they find it quieter and more amenable for this purpose than their own homes. Others go to the library to meet friends or just to get away from parents and siblings - that is, they use it as a kind of refuge. A small number use it only as an excuse for getting out of the house and

going elsewhere.

The school regularly organises visits to museums and lectures, but I found that in addition the sixth year girls were organising such excursions for themselves, usually during school vacations. Although a few girls are actually interested in the academic value of such excursions, most girls go along because it is yet another acceptable means of indulging in independent social activity. The excursion is usually something of a picnic and lasts all day. Sometimes girls are able to play truant and go to the cinema or for a picnic in the park, but it is only the sixth year girls who are likely to get away with it because they are given more freedom with their pursuits during school hours.

Two of my informants went on a school supervised geology field trip to Wales and once again, judging from their reports, it appears that this was more of a holiday away from home rather than a serious academic exercise. On the other hand, two rather more studious girls went to a weekend biology course at Kent University and seem to have enjoyed it for its academic content.

Parents' attitudes to school trips abroad seem to follow the general rule that pre-pubescent children are permitted to go (provided that the parents can afford it), while older girls are not. However there are cases where even pre-pubescent girls are not permitted to go, while, on the other hand, one of my fifteen-year-old informants was given parental permission to go on such a trip.

In this chapter I have described the activities and behaviour of teenage Pakistani girls both in the domestic arena and in the public arena. In addition, I have dealt with parents' perceptions of their children's behaviour, with the issues that cause conflict between teenage girls and their parents, and with the resolution of such conflicts.

In the next chapter I will discuss the teenage girls' perceptions of their own behaviour, and the ways in which they would like to see it changed. I will also deal with the questions of religion, morality and identity.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE IDEAS OF TEENAGE GIRLS: ETHNICITY AND IDENTITY

The perception of Pakistani teenage girls as to what constitutes 'correct' behaviour is not entirely compatible with either their parents' perception, nor with a Western perception of 'correct' behaviour. While the girls act in a manner which is more or less in compliance with parental dicta, their own beliefs represent a significant divergence from these, especially where issues of personal freedom, marriage, education and career are concerned. It is this 'ideal' or 'Ideological' model of teenage behaviour (as perceived by the teenagers themselves) that this chapter attempts to describe.

Publicly Stated and Privately Held Beliefs

1. In the Asian Context

As described in the previous chapter, the gossip network operating within the teenage peer group serves to regulate the public expression of beliefs which contravene the parental model of behaviour in any major regard. Minor deviations (such as those concerning dress, for example) are acceptable within the group and do not invite criticism by one's peers. Moreover, deviant attitudes or opinions publicly expressed are less liable to invite criticism than deviant actions openly undertaken or confessed to. The girls often discuss among themselves 'the problems of Pakistani girls in Britain' in a general context but without recourse to personal example. It is only with a best friend or with siblings or cousins that a girl will express a candid opinion or confess to a 'deviant' action.

2. In the Non-Asian Context

Whereas Pakistani girls do express some dissatisfaction with the

parental model of behaviour in discussion among themselves, in discussions with non-Asians (peers, teachers) they support the parental model without reservation. They do this in the face of what they consider to be hostile criticism or 'attacks' on their way of life by non-Asians. One Pakistani girl commented: "They ask too many questions. We're brought up to learn two different ways; they don't understand. How can they understand if they haven't experienced how we live." Another reason for publicly supporting the parental model of behaviour has to do with a certain feeling of ethnic pride which seems to arise not out of any particular sense of loyalty to Pakistani traditions, but out of a sense of being different, of having access to an alternative understanding of language and culture. However, it must be emphasised that this 'ethnic pride' or 'reactive ethnicity' only emerges in the context of hostile interaction with non-Asians. As will be noted below, this has an important bearing on differing aspects of the question of identity that has so concerned writers on the subject of Asian youth.

In what follows I will be describing the privately held beliefs of the teenage girls. Many of the issues that I questioned the girls upon (for example race-relations, women's liberation) had no direct bearing on their everyday life, and a common initial response was: "I've never really thought about it." It should be noted therefore, that some of the opinions the girls expressed were only half-formed, fluid and liable to radical change from day to day and situation to situation.

Marriage, Education and Career

Perhaps the issues that are the most powerful indicators of the girls' attitudes and ideas are those concerning marriage, education and career. In a way these issues are the most difficult to gauge in terms of the girls' actions for they are issues which are not yet directly confronting the girls. In fact there was a marked difference of opinion on these

issues between the time at the beginning of the fieldwork, and the time towards the end when decisions regarding the future loomed closer.

Almost without exception, the girls regard both school and further education in highly positive terms. Most girls enjoy coming to school, though not always for strictly academic reasons: "It's a change from home. I get so bored at home. I can't wait to get out of the house. It's somewhere I can go without being questioned." At the beginning of the fieldwork, most sixth year girls expressed a desire to enter University after leaving school. However by the end of the fieldwork the less academically inclined or gifted girls had reformulated their ideas on further education. Some had decided on taking part-time courses (secretarial or child-care courses) while others were reconciled to marriage directly after leaving school. The more academically inclined girls were more determined than ever to enter University and had begun translating this desire into action. They had applied for admission to Universities and had begun pressurising their parents on this issue. They maintained that should they fail to gain admission at the first attempt, they intended to re-take their 'A' Levels until they did.

Driver and R.Ballard (1979) have observed that the educational aspirations of South Asian pupils are generally high.

Some students may well fall by the wayside, but the strength of their determination to succeed cannot be gainsaid. Their aspirations are clearly much higher than those of most English boys and girls from inner urban neighbourhoods, but it would be rash to assume that their expectations are always unrealistic as teachers and careers officers not infrequently do (op.cit., 149)

There appears to be a strong correlation between the girls' behaviour and attitudes and the degree of academic success they achieve at school. It is possible analytically to divide the girls into two categories on the basis of this correlation.

The girls who achieve academic success at school and have a realistic

chance of gaining entrance to University, tend to be more reserved in terms of their participation in peer group activities and conversations. They avoid any kind of controversial argument with either their peers or their parents. They are less likely to indulge in any kind of 'deviant' activity and are among the strictest conformists to parental rules of behaviour. They see University as an escape from the restrictions they presently endure, and they avoid behaving in a manner which might endanger their chances of being given permission by their parents to attend University. However, whilst conforming in terms of action, it is these girls who are most 'deviant' in terms of their ideas and attitudes. For example, some girls maintain that they have no wish to be married at all; that a professional career takes precedence over matrimony. Others believe that marriage must wait until they have completed their education and have had a chance to earn their own living. It is this category of girls who are (privately) the most vehement critics of Pakistani values and traditions, and who, in terms of their ideas and attitudes, are the most 'Westernised' or rebellious.

The girls who fare poorly at school are generally the ones that are most outspoken within the peer group. It is these girls who attend the evening classes at the local college of further education with a view to interacting with male peers. Their manner of dress and general appearance is more 'Western' and they are more likely to indulge in 'deviant' activities (for example, playing truant from school; going out without permission or consent from parents; lying to parents about one's whereabouts). They are, on the whole, willing to take more risks. This apparently 'deviant' behaviour seems to be governed by the girls' expectations of their future lives. If they have no hope of attending University, the prospect facing them is an arranged marriage; the girls have very little to lose by their unconventional behaviour. On the other hand, the ideas and attitudes of such girls conform to their parents' to a greater degree;

the idea of marriage is highly romanticised and takes priority over education, job and career; a subordinate role in marriage is preferred; the traditionally defined role of women is more readily accepted. The girls are less willing to challenge, in any major regard, traditional Pakistani values, though it should be noted that there are still substantial areas of difference between their own ideas and values and those of their parents.

The analytic distinction made above is not absolute and there are many points of agreement and overlap between the ideas of the two categories of girls. On the question of marriage, for example, all girls are agreed that ideally they would like to choose their own marriage partners and that they would prefer to marry a boy raised in England rather than one raised in Pakistan. It should be noted that the differences apparent in the girls' views on marriage (expressed below) are really only a matter of emphasis or degree. It should also be noted that the degree of academic success on the whole appears only to relate to ideas regarding marriage, education and career, and has little or no direct bearing on ideas of identity, religion or morality which are fairly uniform throughout the group.

1. Views on Arranged Marriages

"Ideally I'd like to get married to someone I choose myself. But I don't disapprove of arranged marriages. We've been brought up to it, haven't we? I've never thought of any alternative way of getting married really. You don't think about it - you just accept it as it comes to you. But if I was to have children, and if my daughter liked somebody, I'd probably let her get married. But you can't explain that to your parents can you? So for their sakes I'd get married to whoever they wanted me to."

(17 yr.old - academically unsuccessful)

"I totally disagree with arranged marriages. I know they say, 'Well, you can blame your parents if the arranged

marriage goes wrong', but then you've suffered that much more, haven't you? And if you pick someone yourself who you've got to know, then you know what that person is really like. When you get married at least you know what you're going to expect."

(17 yr.old - academically successful)

"I don't want to get married (in that way) at all. It makes me feel like a piece of merchandise, being sold off somewhere. I'd feel so cheap."

(17 yr.old - academically successful)

2. Views on Age at Marriage

"After the age of nineteen or twenty, not before. I expect I'll be married at the age of twenty-three or twenty-four. My parents say, 'You'll probably get married when you've finished your education', and that seems fair enough to me."

(17 yr.old - academically successful)

"Below twenty is too young and over twenty-five is too old. I'd like to get married at about twenty-two, but not before that really. But I know I won't be able to (hold out), because my parents are thinking of getting me married when I'm about twenty. But I don't totally disagree with that; I think that's okay too. But below that, I think that's too young."

(17 yr.old - academically unsuccessful)

3. Views on Prospective Marriage Partners

"I'd prefer to marry someone who'd live in England because of something that happened to somebody I know. She married this boy, came from Pakistan, you know, and he was really different from her; and she was brought up here and he was brought up there; and he wanted to be, you know, all bossy. He'd been bossy to all his brothers and sisters and everyone because he was the eldest in his family - and he wanted to boss her (his wife) about."

(17 yr.old - academically unsuccessful)

"I couldn't see me marrying a typically Punjabi guy who wears a dhoti."

(17 yr.old - academically successful)

A fuller illustration on the differences between the attitudes, expectations and behaviour of academically successful and unsuccessful girls is provided by two sisters, Razwana and Nusrat.

Cases 8 and 9

Razwana (aged 17) and Nusrat (aged 15) are sisters, the third and fourth eldest of seven siblings. Razwana is, and always has been, an above-average student, particularly in the science subjects. She has ten 'O' Levels and is taking three 'A' levels (mathematics, physics and chemistry) in June 1979. She is more involved in school activities than most of her Asian peers: she was her form representative in the fourth year, a member of her form committee in the fifth year, and she takes an active interest in the school council. She is a studious and hard-working girl and has ambitions of studying medicine at university. Although friendly and extrovert, she is extremely cautious in conversation, evading direct questions on matters relating to her personal affairs and family life and rarely committing herself to any firm opinion. She has no single close friend or confidante at school but is equally friendly with all her non-Asian peers. She never gossips and is rarely critical of either Pakistani or Western traditions and customs. She is equally cautious in her behaviour and has not been known to have indulged in any covert activities (e.g. playing truant) or deception of her parents. Her relationship with her parents appears stable. She never criticises them and rarely provokes them into arguments over clothes, leisure-time activities etc. because she maintains that these are unimportant to her. Razwana is extremely ambitious and academically inclined; she maintains that she has no desire to get married but wants a career in medicine. It appears that her present caution in her ideas and behaviour is directly related to this overriding desire. If she can win the confidence and trust of her family, she believes that she will be allowed to pursue her own interests and studies at a later date.

Nusrat is very different in character and disposition from her sister. Academically she is a below-average student and she will be taking five CSE exams in June 1979. She is not interested in her studies and can sometimes be fairly disruptive in the classroom. However, this was not always the case as her school file reveals. In the third year she was

an average and interested student. In mid-1977 she wrote a letter to the headmistress asking to be allowed to take 'O' level rather than CSE exams, promising to work harder towards this end. The headmistress refused permission on the grounds that she did not believe Nusrat was capable of passing 'O' level exams. Faced with this rejection and sense of failure, both Nusrat's grades and conduct in the classroom began to deteriorate. She abandoned interest in further education and now maintains that she wants to get married as soon as possible. She attaches many romantic notions to the idea of marriage and also sees it as an escape from a repressive family life. She is very outspoken about her ideas which are (publicly) more 'Western' than most. She has an English (White) girl as her 'best friend' at school and does not interact excessively with her Asian peers. She is interested in Western fashion and in her appearance and recently cut her hair, keeping it covered or tied back in the presence of her parents so that they cannot guess its length. She openly flouts Pakistani conventions by being over-familiar with the young male porters and teachers at the school and as a result she is often the butt of malicious gossip at school. Her relationship with her family, though not as bad as some, is distant and remote. It appears that Nusrat's behaviour is partly conditioned by her belief that she has nothing to lose by behaving in the way she does. She regards an early marriage as not only inevitable, but welcome, and so pleases her own conscience in the meantime.

Brah examines the assumption that teenagers exposed to the western model of marriage would want to emulate this model and reject a marriage arranged for them by the family. She finds this assumption only partly valid.

It was found that the influence of the western model was apparent at the level of ideology rather than envisaged practice. That is the boys and girls professed to be against the idea of arranged marriages ... Nevertheless, they did not seem to reject the possibility of their own marriage being arranged by the parents, nor did they seem to be unduly concerned about such a prospect (Brah 1978, 200).

With the exception of her statement regarding the amount of concern expressed by teenagers at the prospect of facing an arranged marriage, Brah's findings complement my own. The discrepancy between 'ideology' and 'envisaged practice', Brah notes, may be explained by a number of factors:

(a) Although Asian adolescents are not fully socialised in their commitment to Asian values and norms (especially those concerning marriage),

their identification with the family prestige (izzat) remains strong. Since rejection of an arranged marriage would bring disrepute on the family, most Asian teenagers tend to accept an arranged marriage (idem.)

Ballard makes a similar point:

... an arranged marriage must be seen within the context of prior socialisation and established kinship networks. Acceptance of such a marriage can be seen as symbolising an individual's loyalty and commitment to his family and community, and to all the personal advantages and disadvantages that this implies (C.Ballard 1979, 124).

(b) There is a lack of support from outsiders for own-choice marriage, especially in the case of its failure. Conversely, the family is held responsible for the failure of an arranged marriage and are bound to lend support and assistance.

(c) There is likelihood of withdrawal of the emotional and psychological support provided by a close-knit family structure in cases of refusal of arranged marriages.

(d) Young Asians are not socialized in the rituals or mechanics of courtship and marriage and find it difficult to find their own partners.

(e) Young Asians are confident that their parents will consult them fully before arranging a marriage and that there will be no coercion. Ballard adds that

The sophistication and objectivity with which they (young Asians) were able to weigh up and discuss their own situations was striking. When they agreed to accept their parents' choice of spouse, that acceptance usually appeared to be the result of a carefully thought-out rationalisation of their personal position rather than of open coercion on their parents' part (C.Ballard 1978, 185).

Brah concludes that

The combined effect of these factors leads to an acceptance of the part of these teenagers of the prospect of arranged marriages even when they profess a preference for own-choice marriages.

It may be concluded from the foregoing that disparate belief systems deriving from the Asian and British cultural norms seem to co-exist within the minds of these young people, but practice is often governed by the former (Brah op.cit., 200).

Religion, Morality and Personal Freedom

There is an ambiguity governing the beliefs of Pakistani girls concerning the role of religion in their daily lives. For their parents, religion and culture are synonymous. Culture is not merely reinforced by religion, culture is religion. Therefore a cultural norm is held to be beyond question because it is, in reality, a religious principle. Thus family life and organisation, matrimony, rules of behaviour and even manner of dress are seen as being governed not by cultural norms but by religious prescription and proscription.

The girls too believe that religious principles are beyond question. Yet they do not care to associate religion with matters affecting their everyday lives; it is too uncomfortable an exercise. If every action or idea is to be considered in terms of whether or not it conforms to Islamic ideals, life would become very difficult indeed. However, parents are constantly calling upon the girls to make such an association. Any attempt at argument or questioning of parental dicta is quashed with the maxim: "That is the way we do things; it's laid down in the Koran." Thus, for example, the girls believe that "Girls must grow their hair long and keep it tied back; the Koran says it's forbidden for girls to cut their hair short"; "Girls were made to marry, it says so in the Koran"; "Islam says there have to be differences between the sexes; you can't have equality. Boys are not supposed to work in the house, and girls shouldn't have outside jobs." Since the girls have no independent understanding of Islam, they accept their parents' rulings as axiomatic of religious truth. It

should be noted that each girl is exposed, through her parents, to different interpretations of Islam. Thus what one girl may hold to be religious truth, is not necessarily accepted by another girl with an alternative understanding. Of course there are certain well defined areas of religious dogma which are uniformly interpreted and believed, but where cultural norms are not seen to have a clear-cut religious legitimation, differences of opinion exist. However, once the association between a cultural norm and a religious principle has been made by her parents, a girl is bound to accept it without question. Even at the cost of personal gratification, she is not moved to criticise or condemn such dogma outright:

"Yes, I do think that everything that's laid down in the Koran is beyond question and true, but it's the way people have changed things that I disapprove of. It's the maulawis and those sort of people, you know; they're always disapproving of people and telling them how to live their lives; and that's what I'm against. They misinterpret religion, they don't grasp the right meaning of it; they take it in another way."

For the most part though, the girls prefer not to think of religion as playing an active part in their daily lives.

"Religion is something you don't have time to think about; about whether you believe everything or not. If you're taught to believe something from the beginning, you don't think about it later in life - about whether you believe or not, I mean. It's just there, and you've got to believe in something."

Since the girls do not very often attempt to make the conscious association between cultural norms and religious principles, the question of 'rationality' versus faith very rarely arises. When confronted with such contradictions, the girls almost uniformly responded: "I've never really thought about it", and left it at that. They did not go on to rationalise faith; instead they merely reiterated that religion had been

corrupted; that the 'true spirit of Islam' had been subverted.

Religion is almost the only traditional institution that is accepted by the girls without question or criticism and it is interesting to speculate why this should be so. The obvious answer seems to lie in the fact that it is only through religion that the girls are directly and actively educated in their traditional culture and that reference is constantly made to it in the home. However, that is not the entire answer. Religion confers a sense of identity and belonging - it is 'the badge of all our tribe'. While this is not ordinarily significant, it becomes important in the context of the girls' interaction with non-Muslim peers, where it plays an important part in reinforcing ethnic pride; it confers values and a sense of direction in a confusing alien environment. But perhaps the most important factor which maintains religious faith, is that the girls have no alternative ideological tools with which to direct their ideas. Since their lives are encapsulated within an Asian context (even at school or college), they are pretty well impervious to outside influences. The only girl who rejected religion outright was one who had access to such outside influences. She was an avid reader of popular philosophy and psychology.

Case 10

Fatima is seventeen years old, the eldest of four siblings. She is an above-average, though not exceptional, student and has nine 'O' levels. Her school report shows that although, like most Asian girls, she studies the science subjects, she shows a singular lack of interest and does not fare well at them. On the other hand she shows a keen interest in the arts subjects, particularly French. Fatima is fond of reading books, both fiction and non-fiction and is unique among the Asian girls on that count. In her spare time at school she is often to be found sitting alone and reading rather than joining in with the gossip and chatter of the other Asian girls. She enjoys reading popular psychology and philosophy especially that concerned with the development of self and the realisation of ego, but feels frustrated at not being able to discuss these interests with her peers. At home she leads a very

restricted life, her parents being reluctant even to allow her to visit the homes of Asian girlfriends. They regularly read her mail and, on discovering that she had a male pen-pal, forbid further correspondence with him. Fatima is not even allowed to keep photographs of her favourite film stars. All these restrictions are explained to her by her parents in terms of Islamic prohibitions and have led Fatima to vehemently reject not only Muslim values, but Islam itself, an extreme action in the context. Fatima is able to do this because she has learned alternative ethics and values through her reading. She is very positive about the way she wants to live her life (expressing it in terms of 'doing your own thing!'), and she sees Islam as antithetical to her present beliefs. She used to be quite outspoken at school about her antagonism towards Islamic beliefs but this earned her few friends amongst the Pakistani girls and gave her the reputation of being somewhat peculiar, so now she keeps her views to herself and does not interact much with her peers.

For the vast majority of the girls however,

"Religion is too strong. We're meant to have blind faith; we can't argue with it most of the time; you just accept it most of the time. The rules, they're not set down by people, are they? They're set down by God, and you accept them. And to go and change something that's set down by something greater than yourself... well, I wouldn't."

Since religion is not always associated with their everyday behaviour, the question of morality and personal freedom becomes obscure in the minds of the girls. The injunctions against drinking alcohol and eating pork or haram meat are clear, as is the injunction against sex outside marriage. But what of going to the cinema, or dancing? playing a musical instrument, participating in sports or performing in school plays? If women doctors and lawyers are respected in the community, why are other professions, such as nursing, unacceptable? If girls can go to classes at mixed-sex colleges, why can't they attend the college dances? If a girl is expected to behave like an adult and assume responsibilities in the home, why does she need to take permission from her parents for her activities outside the home?

Why is not responsibility and trust accorded her in relation to her age? It is in these morally ambiguous areas that the girls are challenging traditionally defined norms of behaviour. One seventeen-year-old girl commented on what she considered to be irrational and unreasonable restrictions in the following manner:

"There are plenty of things I miss doing. When you're my age, you should be able to do what you want; not what your parents tell you to do. You shouldn't have to ask your parents' permission for things when you're my age; you should just be able to tell them. For instance, say, if I'm invited to a party, I have to ask them a direct question and say, 'can I go?', and they say 'no'. They don't ask for details or reasons why I want to go - they just say 'no'. When that happens I just walk out of the room; I'm not going to argue about it; there's no point - because in the end the answer's going to be the same."

Freedom of expression in the context of parent-child interaction is high on the girls' list of 'personal freedom' priorities. Reasoned argument is highly prized in the public arena, and it is this kind of dialogue with their parents that the girls find sorely lacking. They also strongly resent what they consider to be a denial of their individuality:

"My parents restrict my activities, not because they don't trust me, but because they're afraid of what other people might say if they allowed me any freedom. They seem to be more concerned about other people's feelings than about mine."

In sum, then, Pakistani girls totally accept religion as the foundation of many of their ideas and much of their behaviour. Whenever they find a cultural norm to have religious legitimation, that norm is regarded as being a religious principle, and as such is held as being beyond question. However, there are certain areas of 'morality' which are not directly governed by religious injunctions and sanctions, and it is in these areas that the girls feel justified in challenging traditional norms and ideas. In effect, what the girls are attempting to do is compartmentalise

religion and culture, an exercise which they find to be perpetually vexing.

Identity and the 'Between-Two-Cultures' Phenomenon

The girls maintain that they are cultural schizophrenics: "When we're at school, we're British, and when we go home we're Pakistani. At school we speak English and wear trousers; when we go home we change into shalwar-gamis and we have to speak Punjabi with our parents. It's like being two different people at once." Such a sentiment, however, is merely a deliberate attempt by the girls to try and explain the way in which they cope with two different cultures; it is a device they use in an attempt to rationalise their position to their own satisfaction; because their activities are compartmentalised, they attempt to compartmentalise the question of identity in their own minds. This, however, is not a particularly fruitful exercise for when pressed, the girls often unwittingly reneged on such an idea.

Although the peer groups of the girls are predominantly Asian in composition, this is largely due to the fact that opportunities for meeting with and participating in the activities of non-Asian peers are severely limited, rather than due to any cultural aversion to Western culture. None of the girls condemn (as their parents do) Western culture as morally corrupting. They recognise things they value in it and identify things they disagree with, just as they do with Pakistani culture, though ultimately they seem to be more tolerant of the Western culture perhaps because it does not affect them so directly. Nor do the girls suppose (as their parents do) that all white girls are immoral: "There are good and bad English girls, just as there are Pakistani girls; it's what you're brought up to believe; what you get used to."

The things that are positively valued by the girls in relation to Western culture and their white peers are personal freedom (particularly freedom of expression), individuality, and independence of choice with

regard to marriage, education and career. The things that are negatively evaluated are what the girls regard as abuse of personal freedom: smoking, drinking alcohol, promiscuousness in inter-sex relationships. The girls are also critical of what they see as lack of respect in the attitudes of their white peers towards their parents and adults in general. On the whole, though, the Pakistani girls are willing to recognise and accept different standards of morality for themselves and for their white peers:

"It's alright for them to behave in the way they do, because they've been brought up to think it's alright, but I wouldn't do the things they do, like smoke or drink and be, too, sort of, free - you know, cheap. Some of them are, you know."

and again:

"I don't think English girls have all that much freedom. They're answerable to their parents just as we are. But they abuse their freedom. They should count themselves lucky they've got as much as they have."

The girls are far more critical of what they understand to be Pakistani values as represented by some of their parents' views. Many believe their parents to be far too authoritarian, tyrannical even, in the suppression of their children's views and desires; all, without exception, condemn the arranged marriage system; some are irked by what they see as subordination of women and the segregation of the sexes; a few are critically aware of the hypocrisy connected with izzat and the related gossip network:

"It means you don't really have to care yourself about what's right and what's wrong. You just have to be sure you don't do what other people think is wrong - doesn't matter what you think yourself. So you can do what you like, really, and if no-one finds out, you're alright; you don't feel guilty or anything. I don't somehow think that's right."

It is obvious that the girls' criticism of Pakistani values is much more vehement on those issues which directly confront them and it should not

be suggested that children totally reject their parents' values. On the whole they accept rather than endorse them, and their acceptance is symbolic of their loyalty to parents and family rather than to cultural values and traditions in themselves.

An interesting feature of the girls' conversation is the discrepancy in their use of the terms 'British' and 'English', though they themselves are oblivious of this. When I first asked the girls their ethnic origins (phrased 'where are you from?'), they either told me they were British, or gave me their home address. One girl informed me, "I'm British. I don't feel like a stranger in this country, but Pakistan is a foreign country to me. I wouldn't feel at home there." However, the girls never refer to themselves as English, and there is a clear 'us' and 'them' distinction whenever they refer to their white, 'English', peers.

The girls' attitudes towards Pakistan vary, as pointed out earlier, in relation to their experience of the country, either through personal visits or through hearsay. The following sample of quotations is a fairly typical and proportional representation of the girls' views on life in Pakistan.

"I wouldn't mind visiting Pakistan, to see my relatives and that, but I wouldn't live there; I've heard the way people live there and I couldn't see myself living the same way."

(17 yr. old - has never visited Pakistan)

"I wouldn't feel at home in Pakistan because I'd feel I was being restricted. I don't feel (like) that here in England, because when I go on the streets I can do anything I like really, whereas in Pakistan, I suppose, everybody's looking at you and saying, 'see, look at that girl; she's out on her own' or something like that; whereas that sort of thing doesn't exist here. ... Somehow you associate the West with freedom. I mean, you know, in an Eastern country, if I was to walk down the street, you know, I personally think that I'd be stared at and everything."

(17 yr. old - has never visited Pakistan)

"I wouldn't like to live in Pakistan now that I'm older, because I wouldn't be allowed to go out anywhere. Not even walk in the streets or anything."

(15 yr. old - lived in Pakistan between the ages of 8 and 10)

"I'd like to go back to see what it's like. I've heard some horrible things about it. In the cities the buses are all overcrowded and girls can't go out alone, because they get teased by men. There's this tribe - begins with a P - carries girls away ... I've heard there are a lot of disabled and diseased people who sleep in the streets and beg for money, and that. I think that's really terrible."

(15 yr. old - has never visited Pakistan)

"I'd like to go back and live in Pakistan. I went there for a holiday and it was really great. There was so much to do, I was never bored or lonely. I had much more freedom there - I went with all my cousins and aunts to the pictures and on picnics and everything. Every evening we'd have visitors or we would go out visiting ourselves. I'm much more restricted here."

(17 yr. old - recently visited Pakistan for 3 months)

These quotes suggest an interesting feature concerning domestic versus public arenas in England and in Pakistan. In London, the domestic arena is fairly restricted in terms of activities and personnel due to the absence of close kin; the public arena is relatively free i.e. girls may venture out of the home unescorted and unveiled. In urban Pakistan, by contrast, it is the public arena that is restricted (women may not venture out unescorted and unveiled) and the domestic arena which is relatively free due to the circumstances of joint family living. Thus the girls' evaluation of Pakistan also depends on their own personality, on whether it is the domestic or public arena that is more important to them, and this is partly linked to the degree of academic success and inclination - girls who are academically inclined attach greater importance to education and career in the public arena, while those who are not academically

inclined attach greater importance to marriage and the domestic arena.

It appears on the whole, however, that most girls (particularly those who have lived in Pakistan for longer periods) have a realistic enough view of the place to realise that they would have problems adjusting to life there. That is the reason why 'threat of exile' to Pakistan is such an effective sanction employed by parents to elicit correct behaviour in their children.

The 'culture-conflict' model has been given general currency by some sections of the media and health and social services. It suggests that young Asians are a rootless generation caught between two cultures; totally rejecting their parents' values and traditions and aspiring towards British ones. Ballard comments that such a definition is very superficial. It

sets young Asians apart as a 'problem' category, often failing to recognise that there can be a comparable degree of conflict between parents and children in families of all cultural backgrounds. It does not take into account the particular personalities of individuals within the families concerned nor their material and social circumstances. More seriously, it assumes that cultural values are fixed and static and that there is no possibility of adaptation, flexibility or accommodation between one set of values and another (C. Ballard 1979, 109).

In a study of South Asian (mainly Sikh) youth in Leeds, Ballard (op.cit) describes the emergence of a distinct 'Asian' identity. The teenagers do not think of themselves in terms of British or Indian, Hindu, Sikh or Muslim, but rather in terms of 'Asian' a new category expressing the ideas and aspirations peculiar and particular to them in the context of Britain. The emergence of this identity is directly related to the experience of racial discrimination in British society and Ballard refers to it as 'reactive ethnicity'.

This adds a crucial new dimension to Asian ethnicity. While synthesising aspects of both Asian and British cultures some young Asians seem to be reacting to the rejection they experience from British society by taking renewed pride in their separate cultural identity. They may demonstrate this symbolically by re-adopting

the wearing of the turban or the sari. Some are taking an increasingly serious interest in their own backgrounds and are arranging to visit their country of origin. A few are now taking the possibility of returning permanently seriously. They seek more scholarly information about their religion and customs than their parents are able to provide and some are learning their own language in its literary rather than its vernacular form. The result of personal, social and economic insecurity is to encapsulate Asians in their own communities. One effect of racial discrimination seems to be in checking the drift towards total Westernisation. This drift is frequently predicted as inevitable for the children and grandchildren of Asian migrants to Britain (ibid., 127).

This cultural identity may then be translated into political action:

Many young Asians are feeling increasingly strongly that they should use their education and their knowledge of British society and politics in order to help their own groups. They are deeply dissatisfied with the way in which many of the 'leaders' of their communities, drawn largely from the first generation and often from the professional middle class, have failed to represent the feelings and experiences of the majority to outsiders. They believe that much stronger action should be taken to counter the discrimination and humiliation which they suffer. They regard many of the established Asian political organisations as ineffectual and unrelated to the needs of the second generation. They feel that as these organisations stand at present they have little to offer to the second generation (idem.).

It is difficult to find the strong commitment to an 'Asian' identity among Pakistani girls in South London. An explanation of the discrepancy between Ballard's findings and my own relates to the fact that her informants were mainly Sikh boys and mine were exclusively Muslim girls. The Sikhs, as evidence from other research shows, are far more aware of their religious, cultural and ethnic heritage, loyalties and connections because there is an organised institution (the gurdwarah) behind the reinforcement of such loyalties in an alien context. For example, Sikh children read comic books published in English about popular Sikh heroes. But perhaps the more important factor accounting for the discrepancy between Ballard's data and my own, is that her sample was primarily male and mine, exclusively female. Asian boys participate to a far greater extent in

British society than Asian girls do. They are, in fact, more or less free to do as they please in their spare time, and do not have to constantly account for their activities to their parents in the way Asian girls have to. As a result of this contact with British society and culture, the boys are far more aware of discrimination practised against them by white people. Even if such discrimination is not overt, they find themselves excluded and alienated from a large proportion of British society, and faced with such exclusion they reiterate their 'Asianness'.

Pakistani girls, on the other hand, have just about their only contact with British culture and society in school, and this is not, by and large, an unpleasant experience. At Springvale, for example, both teachers and students are conscious about promoting good race relations and actively pursue a policy towards this. Although some Pakistani girls regard the questioning attitudes of their non-Asian peers on matters of traditional culture, as being mildly hostile, I witnessed no fights or arguments which arose purely on racial grounds, though very often an argument begun on a quite unrelated matter could turn into a racial slanging-match. On the whole, though, the girls' experience of British society is not an unhappy one, and their political ignorance leaves them quite unaware of the events in the wider racial scene. Thus, they do not think very much about expressing themselves as 'Asians' in the way Sikh boys do. Something as abstract a problem as 'identity' does not worry them greatly, but much more immediate and down-to-earth matters (such as the prospect of facing an arranged marriage), do.

This should not suggest, however, that the girls deny or reject an 'Asian' identity. Under certain conditions and circumstances (such as

hostile interaction with white peers) girls may draw upon a sense of ethnic difference to re-inforce pride (see above - 'Asian and non-Asian Contexts' p.135). Khan observes that 'switching' of identity is a matter of convenience or a deliberate manipulation for personal or collective advantage and does not necessarily involve a change in values. "Thus the significance and intensity of ethnic identity is not fixed but constantly evolving and responding to experience" (Khan 1972, 13).

The matter becomes clearer if, as Brah suggests, we distinguish between the cultural and political dimensions/components of identity. The cultural component of identity relates to the internalisation of cultural/belief systems:

... it may be suggested that in so far as the first component of ethnic identity is concerned, the Asian teenagers growing up in Southall are neither encapsulated in the cultures of their countries of origin, nor are they in the process of becoming completely anglicised. Their identity, as encoded in their emerging belief systems, contains elements derived from Asian as well as English cultures, although the influence of the latter is more strongly apparent at the level of ideology than action or practice. Thus, the Asian young person who is either born here or has spent a considerable period of his/her life in Britain is not alien to 'the British way of life', for certain elements of this are now part of his or her own way of life (Brah 1978, 205).

The political component of identity relates to the expression of an 'Asian' ethnic identity. It involves an awareness of racial prejudice, and a feeling of devaluation and subordination translated into 'reactive ethnicity' and ethnic pride. "In contexts of perceived external threat, ethnic identity becomes the nucleus around which group solidarity may be expressed and the community mobilised into political protest" (idem.). Brah finds the political dimension of identity to be a significant dimension in Southall. Among Pakistani girls in South London, however, it features far less significantly and political protest is non-existent. As already noted, this is primarily due to the encapsulation of girls' activities within the domestic arena with its limited interaction with hostile whites.

Weinreich considers the psychological process of identity development and relates it to the development of ethnic identity among Asian and West Indian adolescents in Bristol. All adolescents develop their identity through conflicts in identifications with significant others and it is through their attempts to resolve such conflicts that they change their self-concepts. Identification with others, Weinreich points out, is not absolute:

People do not identify in all or none fashion with the values and characteristics of various groups and individuals. They usually identify with some and disassociate from others, forming several part identifications with other people (1979, 90-91).

Thus it is more appropriate to refer to the extent of a person's identification with another. Conflicts in identification arise out of three elements of identification occurring simultaneously in an individual's perception of himself in relation to a significant other. 'Current identification' is the degree of an individual's perceived similarity between the qualities and characteristics (good or bad) attributed to the other and those of his or her current self-image ('me as I am now'). 'Idealistic-identification' refers to the extent of an individual's wish to emulate the perceived qualities and characteristics of the other whom he or she admires ('me as I would like to be'). 'Contra-identification' refers to the extent of an individual's wish to disassociate himself or herself from the negatively perceived characteristics of the other.

Weinrich measured the incidence of conflicts in identification of Asian girls in relation to their parents, their own ethnic groups and other ethnic groups. He found that although the proportion of the Asian girls' conflicts in identification with their parents was relatively low (17 per cent), it was much higher in relation to their own ethnic groups (83 per cent); in fact it was higher than their conflicts in identification with the English ethnic group (50 per cent) and as high as their conflict with the West Indian ethnic group.

The results of the Bristol study indicate that school-leaving Asian boys and girls have conflicted identifications with general representatives of their own ethnic group, but not, significantly, with their own parents. This suggests that a common theme in their future identity development will be the reappraisal of their own ethnicity. But owing to their non-conflictual identifications with their parents, their continuing allegiance to their own ethnic group is in most cases assured - few are likely to reject their ethnic roots.

Whilst redefining their ethnicity towards a radically modernised view of 'Asian-ness', most of them will retain an ethnically distinctive life-style. These Asian adolescents are likely to question the current norms within their own community and redefine what being a young Asian man or woman in Britain should entail... The participation of Asian women in work situations and the increasing say that young people have in choosing marriage partners, indicate the kinds of changes that support this interpretation. Their religious and moral values retain a cohesiveness which stems from the young people's acceptance of their parents' influence in their identity formation.

The retention of their ethnic distinctiveness will mean that they are likely to continue to remain apart from native whites and, in this sense, not assimilate to them. But their redefinitions of themselves will involve an adaptation to, and incorporation of, some of the values of the native white institutions (Weinreich op.cit., 101).

The weight of the evidence suggests that Pakistani girls in London in common with South Asian young people generally are re-defining their cultural values and identity:

They are reformulating the traditional, as presented by their parents' generation, to adjust to their new environment, and they are increasingly demonstrating that they do not want to be culturally 'integrated' in the terms laid down by the majority... With the relevant skills and confidence available to them young Asians can participate in both systems and through physical separation and/or conceptual compartmentalisation avoid the conflict and contradiction which in abstract seems inevitable (Khan op.cit., 11-12).

Surveys of Asian Youth

There are two important studies on Asian Youth that have not been referred to above because their findings cannot be reported without critical comment. This is partly due to the fact that these studies rely heavily on interviews and questionnaires with the sample only; there is very little corroborative evidence of any other kind and the informants were not

questioned over a period, to check whether initial responses were accurate representations of their actual ideas.

Taylor's The Halfway Generation (1976) is a sociological study of 67 Asian youths (Punjabi Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs) who reached school-leaving age between 1962 and 1967 in Newcastle and Tyneside and who were subsequently interviewed by Taylor in 1968. Taylor is basically interested in finding out to what extent Asians are 'assimilating' into British culture and society. With regard to religious attitudes and practices he found that young Muslims were better informed and more strict in observances than Sikhs and Hindus; the majority fasted in Ramazan and most attempted to; dietary restrictions were adhered to; most of the Muslim boys felt that traditional customs (both central and marginal) should remain unchanged; they expressed a commitment and allegiance to Islam and stressed the importance of it in their daily lives. In the context of friends and peer-groups ten of the 26 Muslims had English 'best friends' (those with whom they interacted most frequently) and four had English 'next best' friends; thus the majority mixed freely with whites. However, Taylor found considerable hostility to white contemporary youth culture among all groups in his sample and this tended to cut off Asians from a large section of their English contemporaries. In terms of identity it was ultimately the young men's parents and older Asians that asserted themselves as the dominant reference group; the Muslim boys, in fact, saw little need for any modifications at all in the traditional way of life. On the question of marriage, most boys expressed a desire for greater choice; this meant having the final word in arrangements made by parents; few expressed a desire to initiate their own marriage arrangements and even fewer said they would marry against their parents' wishes. Finally, in their political views and behaviour, Asian youths made themselves unobtrusive in the face of hostile propaganda. Taylor concludes that

the Muslim Youths in his sample were partially 'structurally assimilated', i.e. their networks of relations extended into the British social structure through their having had English friends and participating in certain forms of activity in British society (work, school, etc.); however, the boys were not substantially 'culturally assimilated' because they still adhered strongly (in terms of beliefs and practices) to their traditional norms and customary forms of behaviour..

Taylor's findings have, in many regards, been directly contravened by later research and the primary explanation for this is that his study is outdated. Fifty of the 67 informants arrived in England after the age of seven, and 23 of these arrived after the age 13. Thus the vast majority had been primarily socialised and educated in their countries of origin and this accounts for much of their stricter adherence to traditional norms and forms of behaviour. As already noted, later research has shown that the young Asians of today are far less satisfied with traditional culture, and, in Taylor's phraseology express a greater desire to 'assimilate culturally' in many regards (though by no means totally). The 'structural assimilation' of Taylor's young Asians may be explained by the fact that opportunities for finding friends among Asians were more limited in 1968 than they are today when Asian communities have grown in terms of both numbers and formal organisations. In fact, recent research shows that the desire and the opportunity to 'structurally assimilate' is greatly reduced among young Asians today because of greater political awareness of racism in British society as well as a public emergence of ethnic pride in the face of hostile interaction.

Between Two Cultures is a report of the Community Relations Commission (1976) based on a large-scale survey of 1,117 Asian young people (aged 13-21) and 944 parents who were interviewed from nine areas throughout the country. The report covered five main 'problem' themes: the family, religion, marriage, education and language, and freedom and leisure.

The prestige (izzat) of the family was unanimously regarded as being sacrosanct. Ninety-four per cent of the young Asians felt that the family was important: the vast majority of informants (80 per cent of both parents and children) believed that 'Asians prefer to live as joint families'; however, only 57 per cent of the young people said they enjoyed living in the extended family.

On the question of religion almost half of the Muslim sub-sample (both parents and children) felt that children were influenced by Christianity because they attend assemblies at school with a Christian service. Seventy-eight per cent of young Asians felt that they were less religious than their parents and attributed this to lack of religious teaching.

This evidence suggests that due to lack of proper religious teaching, there is a trend to breakdown in religious observance within the Asian community as far as the second generation is concerned. Exposure to Western values is one factor that may have contributed to this trend (CRC 1976, 23).

On the subject of marriage, 67 per cent of young Asians and 74 per cent of the Muslim sub-sample favoured arranged marriages; 78 per cent young Asians favoured endogamy and the figure was higher among Muslims.

On the subject of education, the majority of informants enjoyed going to English schools and the vast majority of parents favoured single-sex schools. Eighty-five per cent of young people claimed they spoke their mother-tongue at home rather than English, though age at time of arrival in Britain was a significant variable in this context; a similar number claimed to understand English just as well as their mother-tongue.

With regard to freedom and leisure, the majority of young people (58 per cent) felt they did not want more freedom than they already had, though the desire for more freedom was expressed more frequently by girls than by boys. Fifty-seven per cent of the young Muslim sub-sample expressed a preference to spend their time with other Asians; 39 per cent of parents and 53 per cent of young people admitted to intergenerational conflict.

Arguments usually arose over such issues as leisure-time activities, friends, 'dating' and clothes.

The CRC survey is problematic in two major regards. In the first place, as already noted, responses to formal structured interviews and questionnaires are not always accurate representations of informants' privately-held views. The findings of the report not only contradict the findings of recent, more extensive and in-depth research (C. Ballard, Brah, Khan, Weinreich - see above), but are sometimes contradictory in themselves. Ballard has pointed out that the report showed that although 67 per cent of young Asians favoured arranged marriages, 67 per cent also believed that more people would rebel against arranged marriages.

Such contradictory findings probably indicate no more than the obvious point that many adolescents are very uncertain about the way in which they will order their adult lives, and that they may have very ambivalent feelings about a crucial personal event in their own futures in which they can expect to have little say. A straightforward response to direct questions about marriage may be even more difficult when the respondents know that the dominant majority normally regards the very idea of arranged marriage as reprehensible (Ballard 1978, 181).

In the second place, while the CRC survey can provide comprehensive results (leaving aside for the moment the question of their validity), it cannot provide explanations. The explanations given for various responses above (e.g. that exposure to western values weakens religious observance) are often fairly arbitrary and lack authority in the absence of other sources of corroborative evidence. Moreover, the survey makes no distinction between what people say they do and what they are actually likely to do.

In this chapter I have discussed the girls' 'ideal' model of behaviour and have described how, in many ways, they favour Western norms over traditional ones. However, religion, loyalty to the family and the emergence of 'reactive ethnicity' play an important part in ensuring that the girls are not, in terms of their 'ideological conscious model', totally Westernised.

CHAPTER FIVE

ANALYSIS

The thesis, thus far, has been concerned with outlining a theoretical framework for the interpretation of data (Chapter One), and with the description of the ethnographic data themselves (Chapters Two, Three and Four). This chapter attempts to present a comprehensive analysis of those data within the context of the theoretical framework and its four central propositions.

The reader may be reminded that the problem that this thesis seeks to resolve is: what are the processes generating the 'synthetic culture' that has been observed as characterising the ideas and behaviour of Asian youth in Britain, and specifically, of Pakistani teenage girls in London.

It was observed that the most striking aspect of the lives of Pakistani girls is the disjunction between their ideas and their behaviour. Yet the cases I have presented suggest that this disjunction does not appear to be causing any major breakdown in family life or psychological problems above and beyond those of adolescence. In this connection, four propositions have been suggested in Chapter One and these are now re-examined in the context of the fieldwork data.

Proposition 1.

Disjunctions between ideas and behaviour are not symptomatic of impending social disorder or anarchy, but are existential to all human societies. The 'natural state' of society is characterised by a trend toward imbalance and movement rather than toward equilibrium and stability. People 'manage' disjunctions by distinguishing between what they believe they ought to be doing ('ideological conscious model') and what they believe they are doing ('immediate conscious model').

Pakistani families in Britain can be observed as having varieties of 'conscious models' much in the same way as Ward (1965) has described for

the Tanka of Kau Sai, Hong Kong (see Chapter One), though with one important distinction: the conscious models of Pakistani parents do not correspond to the conscious models of their teenage daughters, though there is some degree of overlap.

The conscious models of Pakistani parents may be described in the following manner:

1. The 'traditional Pakistani' model is the 'ideological conscious model' comparable in some ways to the Chinese 'literati' model described by Ward (op.cit.). However the term 'traditional Pakistani' is misleading for it suggests that there is a single and comprehensive set of values 'believed in' by all Pakistanis; in fact these vary from region to region and class to class. What is actually referred to by the term 'Pakistani-traditional' is 'middle-class urban Punjabi'; Pakistani parents in Britain however, perceive this as being the true traditional system of values, thus its categorisation as 'traditional-Pakistani ideological conscious model'. This model draws its framework from the values explicit and implicit in Islamic ideology. These comprise a code of conduct according to which izzat (honour) is measured (see Chapter Two). Key principles include patriarchal authority and patrilineal descent; the seclusion of women and the differentiation of sex roles; the fulfilment of religious obligations (the 'five pillars' of Islam) and obligations towards kin; marriages arranged within the biraderi; adab, the cultivation of good manners, particularly with regard to respect for elders (especially parents), and hospitality, generosity, reciprocity, simplicity and humility in relationships with others. Pakistani parents perceive these values in highly positive terms, as something to be striven for whilst at the same time recognising that the 'perfect ideal' is unattainable in the new context of Britain.

2. 'The British-Pakistani/Parental Model' is the 'immediate conscious

model' comparable to Ward's Kau Sai Model. It is a model of what Pakistani parents in Britain perceive as representing their behaviour in the new context of Britain. Parents are aware that the 'traditional-Pakistani' model is in some ways either inappropriate or too restricted to cover contingencies that may arise in the British context. Examples of such contingencies concerning the position of women and children include such factors as dress, seclusion, education (girls staying on in school after puberty or going on to further education) and salaried employment, marriage (not always arranged within the biraderi) and inter-generational conflict (arguments are tolerated). Such behaviour, whilst not being considered positive, is regarded in neutral terms as being unavoidable. It is perceived, in the minds of Pakistani parents, as an accurate representation of life in Britain, a representation of how they actually behave, in Ward's terms, an 'immediate conscious model'.

3. The 'British - model', the 'Pakistani villager' model and 'other ethnic' models are all 'emic or folk-observer conscious models'. They are models perceived by parents as representing the values and behaviours of 'other' groups in Britain and are regarded in highly negative terms.

The 'British model' is considered as one of the most morally bankrupt models, comprising ideas which are most antithetical to Islamic ones - only a single 'British model' is perceived by and large, with no distinction being perceived on grounds of class or region. Aspects of perceived behaviour such as unrestricted inter-sex relations, aggression and rudeness in dealing with others, the breakdown of family life and disrespect of elders, lack of warmth and hospitality are regarded highly disfavouredly. Some 'British' characteristics such as honesty and straightforwardness (especially in business) are valued but tend to be superseded by the perception of the negative characteristics noted above.

The 'Pakistani villager' model is also disfavoured, on the grounds that it displays 'backward' and unsophisticated characteristics. Pakistanis

in London try to avoid being identified with their compatriots in the North and Midlands of England who come from rural backgrounds. Characteristics such as the small-group exclusiveness and introspection displayed by the villagers are considered negatively by the urban-born London Pakistanis, as is their illiteracy and closer adherence to traditional forms of dress and life-style which are considered as being inappropriate in Britain and which are seen as "giving Pakistanis a bad name".

'Other ethnic' models include the perception of behaviour of Hindu-Indian and Caribbean ethnic groups, also regarded in negative terms; the Hindu, because of traditional Hindu-Muslim antagonism (the Hindus are idolators, not 'People-of-the-Book') and the Caribbean because of racist notions based on colour and because West Indians are considered the most aggressive and violent of all ethnic-groups and perceived as being totally 'without culture'. The West Indians are possibly the most highly-disfavoured of all the ethnic groups.

The conscious models of teenage Pakistani girls are in many ways different from those of their parents:

1. The 'British-Pakistani/Teenage' conscious model is the 'ideological conscious model' of the Pakistani teenage girls in London. It represents the oughts of their social life, the way they would direct their lives given the choice, the freedom, and the opportunity and as such is regarded in highly positive terms. The features of this model have been described in detail in Chapter Four, the main points of emphasis being (a) freedom to choose own marriage partners (though Pakistani spouses are preferred) (b) independence of choice with regard to further education and employment (c) greater freedom in leisure-time activities and altogether greater independence of thought and action (d) greater and better communication with parents - the opportunity to argue and explain (e) adherence to Islam

even in the face of hostile criticism from non-Asian peers (f) family solidarity and support. The teenage 'ideological' conscious model conforms only to a very limited extent to the teenage 'immediate conscious model' (below). This disjunction is partly a result of the intrinsic nature of all 'ideological' models and partly a result of the particular situation of being Pakistani teenage girls in Britain, subject to almost total physical, economic and emotional control by parents i.e. an extreme generation gap.

2. The 'British-Pakistani/Parental' model (see above) is also the teenage girls' 'immediate conscious model'. It is the only conscious model that the girls share with their parents. They too regard it as a representation of the way they actually live their lives, but unlike their parents, they regard it in highly negative terms. This 'immediate conscious model', as it applies to teenagers, has also been fully described earlier (see Chapter Three), the main points of emphasis being, (a) strict parental control of teenage girls' behaviour (b) the compartmentalisation of the girls' lives between school and home: domestic and public arenas of interaction (c) arranged marriages (d) intergenerational conflict. Some aspects however are positively valued and these have been incorporated into the girls' 'ideological conscious model'. These include some Islamic beliefs and practices (though in modified terms), and the security, warmth and affection of a close-knit Pakistani family.

3. The 'English/White-teenage' model and the 'West-Indian' model are the girls' 'emic or folk-observer conscious models' generally regarded in neutral terms as appropriate for those who have been 'brought up to it'.

The 'English/White teenage model' refers to the Pakistani girls' perception of their white peers' behaviour and ideas. It is something of a misnomer because very few Pakistani girls distinguish between English/white teenage and adult models. Although regarded in neutral terms, no

Pakistani girl would claim the 'English/White model' for her own because certain aspects of it would be considered unacceptable. Characteristics regarded as particularly inappropriate include, sexual license, drinking alcohol, disrespect of parents and teachers and the breakdown of family life. Aspects which are considered as appropriate have been incorporated into the girls' ideological conscious model (see above).

The 'West-Indian model' is regarded as being almost synonymous with the 'English/White' model though with one added negative characteristics: aggression. Pakistani girls complain that their West-Indian peers are 'too rough' or 'too rude' but attribute this to an unhappy or aggressive home life.

There is no 'emic or folk-observer' conscious model of other 'Asian' ethnic groups, for Pakistani girls, whilst attempting to maintain their religious identity, ultimately see themselves as part of a larger category defined as 'Asian'. Hindu, Sikh and Ahmadiyah, East African and Indian thus fall within the same frame of reference as Pakistani.

It will have been observed that while teenage and adult conscious models do not correspond with each other in many regards, 'the immediate conscious models' (i.e. the 'British-Pakistani/Parental' model) of both parents and teenagers are the same, largely due to the fact that teenage behaviour is under the strict control of parents. However, the evaluation of this model is again different for parents (who regard it in neutral terms) and teenagers (who regard it in negative terms). The relationship of parents' to teenagers' conscious models may be graphically represented thus:

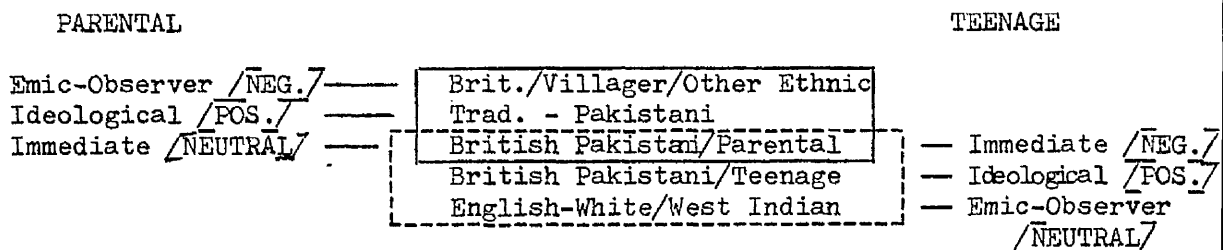


Figure 4. Varieties of Conscious Models

It should be noted that the model that people perceive as representing their actual behaviour (i.e. 'immediate conscious model') is not entirely co-terminous with action (i.e. observable empirical 'reality'). It represents the 'practices' rather than the 'praxis' of social life (see Chapter One). Thus although people are aware of most of the contradictions and disjunctions between their ideas (ideological conscious model) and their behaviour (immediate conscious model), they are not aware of all of them. This allows for an explanation of change within continuity:

1. The awareness of certain disjunctions between ideas and behaviour (i.e. between 'ideological' and 'immediate models') allows people to perpetuate the status quo - i.e. what they consider as being the 'natural' state of existence. Since the perfect ideal is considered unattainable there is no 'strain towards consistency' between ideas and action.
2. Certain disjunctions (i.e. between 'immediate conscious model' and reality) are not perceived. For example a Pakistani teenage girl may consider herself a committed Muslim, yet fail to fulfil all her religious obligations. It is the failure to perceive (sometimes deliberately) this disjunction that allows for progress and change of an evolutionary rather than revolutionary kind. Thus, for example, Pakistani girls are able to retain an identification with Islam because they do not choose to perceive disjunctions and contradictions between their religious ideas and their religious practices.

Proposition 2.

Socialization and education are two separate though complementary processes through which children and young people learn to act and think. Socialization is that part of the learning process concerned with the learning of behaviour and instilling of discipline, whilst education is concerned with the learning of ideas and the intergenerational transmission of knowledge. This distinction of 'content' corresponds to a distinction in the mechanisms and techniques ('form') of socialization and education.

The above proposition has been fully examined in Chapter One. Here the purpose is to illustrate and support it with the ethnographic data in order

to show how the distinction between the techniques and mechanisms or 'form' of socialization and education corresponds to the distinction between the nature or 'content' of socialization and education.

Socialization Mechanisms

It will be remembered that mechanisms of socialization have been categorised as being either Manipulative (i.e. techniques involving the direct participation of an adult in the role of disciplinarian) or Non-manipulative (those not involving adult participation).

1. Manipulative Mechanisms (Techniques)

(a) The use of punishment is the primary socialization technique employed by adults in most cultures to elicit correct behaviour from children and to maintain discipline, and the Pakistanis in Britain are no exception. Physical chastisement is usually employed (only by mother or father) as punishment for younger children, including girls. However it is not generally harsh and takes the form of slapping about the face. As in Egypt (see Ammar 1970), it is to be interpreted as a reaction of anger on the part of the parent, rather than as an institutionalised form of punishment for specific transgressions. Both parents and children report that it is the shame caused by such punishment rather than the physical pain that causes discomfort. Children are usually punished in this way for being insolent or disobedient. Fathers cease to administer such punishment after a girl is about twelve or thirteen years old, and, on the whole, physical chastisement is used very rarely beyond this age, partly because girls cease to openly challenge their parents' authority.

Withdrawal of privilege is a common method of punishing teenage girls and appears to be a technique that has been borrowed from the West for there appears to be little evidence of it in 'traditional' Pakistani society. This form of punishment is employed for most types of transgressions outside the domestic arena such as playing truant from school, leaving the

house without permission, misbehaving in school, or anything in fact which parents might construe as a betrayal of trust. Privileges which are withdrawn include pocket-money and the freedom to indulge in leisure-time activities or go out. Girls may be sent to bed without supper, and be restricted in their movements for a weekend or a week depending upon the seriousness of the offence.

Reward in the form of praise is extensively used both traditionally and in the new context of Britain. Younger children are regularly greeted with the word 'shabash' ('well done') on the completion of even a simple task, or when being encouraged to perform a task. The word is more sparingly used as a child gets older and consequently it acquires greater value.

(b) Pakistani parents instil fear in their children for much the same reason that Egyptian parents do (see Ammar op.cit.): to repress their children and make them docile. It is a fear of parental authority that is instilled (rather than a fear of supernatural beings) and in this connection scolding is usually accompanied by threats of further punishments such as threats of beating or threat of 'exile' to Pakistan. Children and teenagers are more afraid of their fathers than of their mothers, partly because he has the ultimate authority, partly because the social distance between father and children (especially daughters) makes him seem a remote and rather forbidding figure almost incapable of compassion and understanding.

(c) Traditionally in Pakistan, as in most societies, corrective commands are only given to younger children in order to elicit correct conduct in matters of etiquette. By the time a child is older it is assumed to have acquired rules of etiquette and corrective commands are used very infrequently. However in Britain, teenagers are exposed to differing rules of etiquette in the 'domestic' and 'public' arenas and this causes some confusion. Thus teenage girls are often reprimanded about their manner of dress. On one occasion a teenage girl arrived home from school just in

time to accompany her mother on a visit to a Pakistani neighbour. The girl was dressed in trousers and a blouse and was accompanying her mother out of the house when her mother called attention to her clothes and ordered her to change into the traditional Shalwar-qamis saying: "You know you can't go out like that. What will they (the neighbours) think. Go and change." The girl protested: "They'll know I've just come home from school and haven't had time to change." But the mother was insistent and the visit was held up until the girl had changed her clothes.

2. Non-manipulative Mechanisms

(a) It was noted in Chapter One that imitating and observing adults was an important mechanism of learning behaviour and was especially effective in societies where adults and children shared the same social sphere. In Britain, the social life of Pakistani girls is divided between home and school and correspondingly there is a differentiation between the social sphere of the adult and that of the teenager. Within the domestic arena however young girls share the same social sphere as the adults. As family members, they entertain adult visitors and accompany their parents on visits to friends or relatives. They share household duties with their mothers and learn to cook by helping out in the kitchen from the time they are relatively quite young. However, both younger girls and teenagers appear disinterested in adult social life, preferring the company of their peers whenever possible. It is at school that the girls interact most frequently with their peers both Asian and non-Asian. Consequently they observe and imitate teenage behaviour which is often contrary to adult forms of behaviour either Asian or Western. Pakistani parents often complain that their children "catch bad habits" from their Western peers at school, this being particularly noticeable in the girls' informal and argumentative behaviour in interaction with parents, their style of language, idiom and dress. Teenage Pakistani girls, in fact, are likely to imitate Western

trends in fashion and popular music. They idolise Western as well as Indian film stars. Younger children particularly, imitate popular television heroes much to the disapproval of their parents.

However, much imitative behaviour is abandoned as the girls get older and it is difficult to draw conclusions about its lasting effects. It is probably fair to say that although Pakistani teenagers respond more favourably to some Western forms of behaviour (as exemplified by their non-Asian peers), the opportunities to indulge this preference become more and more limited as the girls grow older and are subject to stricter control by their parents.

(b) Regulation of behaviour through ridicule and gossip is another complicated issue, for girls are subject to the ridicule and gossip of both Asian and non-Asian peers, each group demanding contradictory standards of behaviour. Pakistani girls at school are subject to the ridicule of non-Asian peers if they dress in a different manner (e.g. wear a dupatta), speak with a Pakistani accent, observe dietary restrictions and in fact behave in a manner which singles them out as different or peculiar. So the girls strive to appear, overtly, as similar to their peers as they possibly can. They attempt to hide or avoid discussion on aspects of their behaviour which are different from their non-Asian peers such as dietary restrictions, strict parental control of leisure-time activities, arranged marriages, limited interaction with male peers and so on. When provoked on such subjects, they will try to rationalise and explain, failing which they will try and 'neutralise' the subject of contention by making it seem unimportant.

It was noted in Chapter Four that Pakistani teenage girls are also subject to the gossip of their Asian peers and this too serves as an important mechanism in regulating their behaviour. While privately many girls sympathise with each other on the unjustness of parental restrictions, any public confession or display of behaviour contrary to the more serious parental rules invites gossip and criticism from one's Asian peers. This

includes 'over-familiar' interaction with male peers, covert 'dating', playing truant, drinking alcohol or smoking, disregarding dietary restrictions and dressing in an 'outrageous' manner (wearing skirts or T-shirts). Thus the girls are constantly trying to balance one set of behavioural rules against another, a balance that is instrumental in generating the type of 'synthetic culture' alluded to earlier.

Education Techniques

It will be remembered that education mechanisms are always 'manipulative' techniques, i.e. they involve the direct participation of an adult whose role in the learning process is that of teacher. Education techniques may be more or less informal and may operate within either an institutional or non-institutional context.

1. Non-Institutional 'Informal' Techniques

'Informal' non-institutional techniques are those which operate outside 'schools' and which do not operate in a systematic and regular fashion but arise out of the context of everyday situations. Such techniques facilitate the transmission of general (as distinct from specialised) cultural information.

(a) Peripheral participation in adult gatherings and rituals is regarded as an important method of teaching a child ideas about its cultural universe. Pakistani parents actively encourage their children to join them in entertaining visitors or in accompanying them on visits to friends or relatives. Small children are rarely told to leave the room even if they are making nuisances of themselves. They are quite free to join in conversations with adult visitors and their questions or comments are rarely ignored. They are not even excluded from adult gossip. In this way children come to gather ideas about what is socially acceptable or unacceptable, about what is important or unimportant and the general kind of cultural information that may be explicitly contained in adult conversations.

However, as noted earlier, many young Pakistanis are disinterested in adult social life and often beg off visiting or entertaining visitors (on the excuse of excessive school work) and watch television instead. Thus the 'peripheral participation' technique is not as effective in the British context as it possibly is in the traditional Pakistani context.

(b) The 'casual' question and answer technique is considered an important method through which small children acquire new information about their socio-cultural and physical environment and is therefore used less and less as the child gets older. However, in Britain, Pakistani teenage girls are still not fully aware of or familiar with all the socio-cultural rules and often question their parents on matters relating to their own lives. Such questions focus mainly on what the girls regard as 'religious issues', since most socio-cultural rules are explained to them by their parents within an Islamic framework. Parents try and discourage such questions asked by older girls because they feel that they lead to arguments. However they are becoming increasingly more tolerant of them and tend to explain and rationalise their answers more.

(c) Rebuke and admonition are perhaps the most important and effective educational techniques employed by Pakistani parents. Not only does scolding contain cultural information about right and wrong, but it is also an effective technique for sensitising a child to feel guilt and shame. It appears that Pakistani children and teenagers gather the bulk of their Pakistani cultural information in this way. A teenage girl might be typically scolded for a serious transgression (e.g. playing truant) in the following manner: "What will people say when they discover what you've done? How will I face my friends and relatives? Didn't you think how this would affect us all? Folks will blame us (your parents) for not bringing you up properly. If a thing like this got known it would bring shame upon the family. You have shown no respect either for us or for

your brothers and sisters. What effect do you think this will have on them? We trusted you, and you have betrayed us." The most prominent idea communicated in such a tirade is the idea that izzat is a group matter: that it affects the entire family, and also that it is a public notion regulated by gossip. Secondly there is the idea of the betrayal of trust which is effective in eliciting guilt and remorse.

(d) In many societies, both traditional and modern, the telling of stories to children (either exclusively or in gatherings where children are present) is a common way of familiarising the child with its cultural history as well as transmitting ideas about morality. In Pakistan it is traditionally the grandmother who relates stories to children and her absence in Britain has seen the virtual disappearance of traditional story-telling. Young Pakistanis were unable to recount a single traditional folk tale and were unfamiliar with characters such as the Lal Peri (Red Fairy) who rides in an uran khatola (flying chariot), deo (giant), churel (witch), jadugarni (sorceress) and bagar bilah (wild cat), the stock-in-trade of many traditional folk tales. But this is not to suggest that Pakistani children are totally devoid of access to stories. The role of story-teller in Britain has been entirely usurped by television with its own particular brand of myth. Any young Pakistani child would be able to recount in detail the latest episode of "The Six-Million Dollar Man" or "The Incredible Hulk" and children's mimetic games are full of re-enactments of the lives of popular television 'super-heroes'. Although the moral content of television programmes is dubious, ideas such as marriage for love, individuality and personal freedom are consciously promoted in most of the popular programmes (usually American imports). Teenage girls also become familiar with Western notions of 'normality' for speech, dress and forms of behaviour. Thus an important education mechanism that of story-telling has been lost to parents and their promotion of traditional values has been replaced by

television with its promotion of Western values and modern myth.

2. Non-Institutional 'Formal' Techniques

'Formal' educational techniques are those which may be regarded as 'overt training' operating through direct instruction (as distinct from corrective command). Such techniques are employed in the transmission of specialised or secret skills and knowledge.

(a) Teaching by demonstration is an important method of teaching specialised skills. Pakistani mothers in Britain teach their daughters embroidery, sewing and knitting by demonstrating the techniques physically to the accompaniment of verbal instruction. Most Pakistani homes have a sewing machine and most teenage girls are adept at sewing clothes for themselves and others. Skill in embroidery is highly regarded and an accomplished embroideress earns much admiration from her peers and adults. Several older Pakistani girls are learning to drive, usually being taught by fathers or brothers. This 'specialised' skill is again taught through the medium of demonstration.

(b) Learning by rote and repetition is one of the primary methods through which a child learns to recite ritual prayers and texts i.e. it is the learning of 'specialised knowledge'.

The method may be employed within an institutional context (i.e. in a traditional 'mosque school' - see below), or outside it. All Muslim children must learn to say their obligatory prayers by the time they reach puberty. In addition they must also have read the Koran once through in Arabic. In Britain some girls attend the 'mosque schools' in order to learn to read the Koran, whilst others (the majority) are taught at home by mothers and older sisters. This depends largely on the proximity of the nearest mosque. Children learn to read the Koran largely through hearing it recited and recognising the written verses, rather than actually learning to read Arabic. They receive little or no translation of the verses from the teacher and

consequently have no idea of the meaning of what they are reciting. The focus of the teaching is on correct pronunciation and intonation. Ritual prayers are similarly taught through the medium of rote and repetition. The teacher (normally the mother or older sister) adopts the correct prayer postures and recites the prayer loudly and slowly in Arabic; the young girl stands beside her and repeats the prayer whilst following the correct ritual movements and postures. Women do not set aside special times or occasions for such teaching but rather pursue it during the course of their own daily prayers. Very young children are often encouraged to follow and imitate the ritual postures and movements long before they are taught to say the prayer. This kind of religious instruction, transmitted primarily through rote and repetition is the medium through which children and young people acquire specialised ritual knowledge.

3. Institutional 'Formal' Techniques

'Institutional' techniques refer to schooling of both the 'traditional' type (e.g. 'Koran' or 'mosque schools') and of the 'Western' type. It is the means whereby children and young people acquire specialised knowledge, either religious or secular.

(a) 'Mosque' schools continue to exist in Britain though attendance depends upon the proximity of such a school to the home. A 'mosque' in South London is rarely a purpose-built structure: rather it is any building which is solely designated for religious/ritual purposes. Thus mosques may be small ground floor-basement maisonettes or larger meeting halls which have been bought for religious purposes by various Muslim organisations in Britain. Attached to each mosque is a maulawi who leads the prayers, delivers the Friday sermon (khutbah) and holds 'Koran' classes for children. The purpose of these classes is to teach the children to 'read' and recite the Koran in Arabic and the teaching is again effected primarily

through the medium of rote and repetition. Very little translation is provided, and on occasions when it is, the language that it is translated into is Urdu which most children raised in Britain have some difficulty understanding. Children attend Koran classes one or two evenings a week and girls cease to attend by the time they are nine or ten years old. The techniques of rote and repetition employed in Islamic religious instruction are not very effective in promoting any real understanding of Islam for Muslim children. Basically what they succeed in doing is transmitting specialised ritual knowledge, that of reading and reciting the Koran in Arabic.

(b) The 'Western' school (i.e. the State comprehensive) is by far the most instrumental in transmitting specialised, secular knowledge. The techniques employed by such schools have been discussed by educational psychologists and are not the concern here. It is sufficient to note that these techniques are generally highly effective for Pakistani girls. The girls enjoy going to school, usually fare well or averagely at their chosen subjects and are generally attentive during lessons. 'Western' schools promote 'Western' knowledge: culturally biased history, geography, literature and sociology. Small wonder that Pakistani girls have little or no 'specialised' knowledge of non-Western cultures, and that they respond favourably to 'Western' culture.

It has been shown that socialization techniques differ in function and 'form' from education techniques. The former operate primarily to maintain discipline and elicit 'correct' behaviour, whilst the latter operate to transmit ideas, values and knowledge. This distinction corresponds to an analytical distinction between the nature or 'content' of socialization (a process concerned with the learning of behaviour) and education (a process concerned with the learning of ideas).

Proposition 3.

Disjunctions between ideas and behaviour correlate to (and in some part are generated by) differing cultural perspectives in the processes of education and socialization respectively. The more divergent the two processes (as in cases of culture contact), the more extreme the disjunction between ideas and behaviour.

It has been argued that socialization and education are the primary processes responsible for generating the ideas and forms of behaviour for Pakistani teenage girls in London. Here I will examine the differing cultural perspectives underlying each process which often work in contradiction or opposition to one another.

Traditionally, there is a more or less uniform set of cultural values underlying both socialization and education i.e. education reinforces socialization and vice versa - both are aspects of learning to live according to the rules of a single culture. In situations of culture contact however, there are varying, even contradictory rules underlying the processes of learning, and this is nowhere more apparent than in a situation of East to West migration. In Britain, formal schooling is compulsory for all children up to the age of sixteen. As a consequence, much of the education function which had hitherto been in the hands of 'traditional' Pakistani agencies, has been taken over by a new Western agency: the school. Almost all knowledge transmitted at school is 'Western' secular knowledge. The medium of instruction is English and the 'second' languages taught are French and/or Spanish i.e. 'Western' languages. Moreover the structure of the western education system, with its emphasis on examinations, positively promotes 'Western' ideas such as competitiveness, individual effort, and achieved individual merit. This is at the expense of positively valued traditional Pakistani ideas such as group solidarity, communal effort and shared merit.

In addition to the 'Western' school, which has usurped a major part of the education function, another important education technique that of story-telling has also been appropriated by a Western medium, television,

which also promotes 'Western' ideas, morals and knowledge at the expense of traditional Pakistani ones.

By contrast, the socialization function has remained largely in the hands of traditional Pakistani agencies i.e. parents and relatives. Most of the behaviour of teenage girls is constrained by sanctions imposed on them by parents. This ensures that such behaviour appropriates more or less to traditional forms as defined by parents. Manipulative techniques of socialization such as the use of punishment and corrective commands play an important part in regulating the behaviour of teenage girls to parental Pakistani standards.

It may be suggested then, that in the context of Pakistani teenage girls in Britain, the process of education serves mainly to promote 'Western' ideas and knowledge, whilst the process of socialization serves to regulate behaviour according to mainly Pakistani standards. It is this disjunction or divergence in the processes of socialization and education that correlates to (and, in part, creates) disjunctions between the behaviour and ideas of the Pakistani teenage girls in Britain.

Proposition 4.

Even the more extreme disjunctions between ideas and behaviour (produced by culture contact) can be successfully 'managed'; for neither education nor socialization are processes which exclusively promulgate one cultural tradition at the expense of another. Although the process of education may be primarily a tool for the promulgation of new 'Western' ideas and culture, it is also partly a tool for the reproduction of 'traditional' culture. Similarly, although the process of socialization operates primarily to regulate behaviour in accordance with 'traditional' social standards, it also operates, if to a somewhat lesser degree, to regulate behaviour in accordance with some 'Western' social standards.

Although the major part of the education process has been assumed by the 'Western' school and television, some important educational techniques still remain within the hands of traditional agencies and operate to counter the assimilatory effect of the 'Western' agents of education. Educational techniques such as 'demonstration' and 'rote and repetition' facilitate the learning of traditional practical skills (sewing, embroidery)

as well as ritual knowledge (reciting the Koran, saying prayers). More importantly, educational techniques such as peripheral participation in adult gatherings, rebuke and admonition and 'casual' question and answer (with parents) facilitate the learning of traditional ideas, norms and rules of conduct all of which are usually expressed in Islamic terms. For example, through listening to adult gossip, Pakistani children very quickly come to internalise the concept of izzat and teenage Pakistani girls continue to use it (if in a somewhat less stringent way) as a yardstick for their own behaviour and for the behaviour of their Asian peers.

It should also be noted that one aspect of the educational technique, story-telling, also remains in the hands of 'traditional' agencies. Pakistani girls visit the Indian cinema with their families on average about once a month. Through Indian films girls learn more about (somewhat distorted) South Asian manners and morals. The themes of these films are often in accordance with traditional ideas such as izzat (especially women as guardians of izzat), obedience and respect of parents, the disrepute attached to drinking alcohol or dancing in night clubs and so on. The ideas learnt at home are thus powerfully reinforced by Indian films. However, it should be noted that many girls do not visit the Indian cinema very often (about three or four times a year) and the reinforcement effect on their ideas is likely to be weak.

Although the major part of the socialization process continues to operate towards reproducing Pakistani forms of behaviour, an important mechanism, peer pressure, counters this effect to some degree. Pakistani girls are subject to the ridicule and gossip of both Asian and non-Asian peers. A girl's non-Asian peers will mock her if she appears drastically different from them in manner of speech, dress, manners and etiquette. Asian peers will also mock or alienate a Pakistani girl who conforms strictly to Pakistani/parental forms of behaviour, who dresses in a more conservative

manner (i.e. wears a dupatta to school) or who is reserved, shy or overly docile in her speech and manner. On the other hand a girl's Asian peers are likely to gossip maliciously about her if she adopts entirely 'Western' attitudes and platitudes, openly flouts the more serious parental dictates and Pakistani conventions and dresses in an 'outrageously Western' manner. Pakistani girls thus use ridicule and gossip to regulate each other's behaviour not entirely in accordance with parental codes or with 'Western' teenage ones. The effect is a synthesis of Pakistani and Western forms of behaviour, style of dress, speech and etiquette.

Another socialization mechanism which counters the effect of reproduction of traditional culture is learning through imitation and observation. It was noted earlier that many Pakistani children imitate 'Western' adults and popular heroes. They may observe and imitate forms of behaviour associated with 'Western' social roles. Pakistani parents are continually worried about this and therefore discourage their children from having English friends and regulate their watching of television.

In sum, then, Pakistani girls 'manage' disjunctions between ideas and behaviour partly because they are aware the disjunctions exist as a necessary condition of life, and partly because the processes of socialization and education operate to counter 'acculturation' or 'assimilation' into any one cultural tradition. This produces a 'synthetic' culture, a blend of Pakistani and Western ideas and forms of behaviour which characterises the lives of Pakistani teenage girls in London.

APPENDIX 1GLOSSARY OF VERNACULAR WORDS AND PHRASES

adab	: good manners; etiquette.
Aḥmadiyah	: Muslim sect; follower of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad Qadiyani who claimed prophethood.
āmin	: amen; so be it. Also a religious ceremony, marking the completion of the first reading of the Koran.
ashrāf	: noblemen; men of high birth (plural of sharīf).
bāgar bilah	: wild cat.
bē 'izzatī	: dishonour.
bīrāderī	: brotherhood; fraternity; kin group.
bismillah	: in the name of God - a formula pronounced by Muslims at the beginning of any action or work. Also a ceremony marking the commencement of the first reading of the Koran.
burqa	: a kind of mantle with attached veil covering the whole body from head to foot.
churēl	: witch.
deo	: giant.
dihātī	: belonging to a village.
dupaṭṭā	: a length of cloth thrown loosely over the shoulders and head by women.
gharānā	: household; family.
gurdūarah	: Sikh temple.
Ḥajj	: pilgrimage to Mecca performed during the month of Zulḥijjah, the 12th lunar month of the Muslim calendar.
ḥalāl	: lawful; having religious sanction; meat butchered as prescribed by Islamic law.
ḥarām	: unlawful; prohibited.
'Id-ē-aḡḡā	: a Muslim festival, observed on the tenth of the month of Zulḥijjah, just after the performance of Ḥajj.
'idī	: a present, usually of money, given on 'Id day.
'id-ul-fitr	: a Muslim festival observed on the first of Shawwāl, the 10th lunar month of the Muslim calendar.
iftār	: the breaking of the fast at sunset during the month of Ramaḡān.

'izzat	: honour; reputation; prestige; respect; dignity; esteem.
jādugarní	: sorceress.
javān <u>or</u> naujavān	: young; young man or woman; young adult.
kachchā	: unripe; uncooked; built of unbaked earth or clay.
khāndān	: family; lineage; dynasty.
khutbah	: a sermon, usually delivered after noon prayers on Friday.
lāl perí	: red fairy.
maulawí	: a learned man; a Muslim doctor of law.
merdāna	: masculine; men's quarters.
muhājir	: refugee.
mullā	: lit. learned; a schoolmaster; a priest; a judge; a jurist.
nasab	: lineage; rank; race.
nikāḥ	: the marriage ceremony; the signing of the marriage contract.
pakkā	: ripe; cooked; built of burnt bricks.
parosí	: neighbour.
pardah	: a curtain; a screen; a veil; a cover; modesty; seclusion (of women).
Quraish	: a tribe of Arabia to which the prophet Mohammed belonged.
Ramazān	: the ninth lunar month of the Muslim calendar - the month of fasting between sunrise and sunset.
shābāsh	: well done!
shalwār-qamís	: loose baggy trousers and long tunic - traditional Punjabi dress.
sharm	: shame; modesty.
Sunni	: orthodox Muslim sect; follower of orthodox sect.
urān khaṭola	: flying chariot.
wālē	: suffix added to substantive to derive nouns implying possession or relation generally.
zāt	: caste; race; rank; soul; essence; the body.
zenāna	: feminine; women's quarters.
ziddí	: perverse; naughty; stubborn; wilful; obdurate; wayward and unmanageable (as a child).

APPENDIX 2'SPRINGVALE' SCHOOL SURVEY OF ASIAN STUDENTS

Please note. Any information derived from this questionnaire is strictly confidential. No personal details will be disclosed without the permission and authorisation of the informant.

1. FULL NAME
2. ADDRESS
3. Date of birth 4. Year and Form
5. Country of birth
6. Country of Parents' birth:
(a) Father (b) Mother
7. Region and town of Family origin
8. Zat 9. Religion
10. Sect
11. Language(s) spoken at home
12. Composition of Household (please give ages of brothers and sisters)
.....
.....
13. Do you have any other close relatives living in Britain? Please
give particulars
.....
14. Do you have any sisters at Springvale School? If so, please state
name, year, form, and age
.....
15. Date of arrival in Britain (month and year):
(a) Father (b) Mother
(c) Yourself
16. Present occupation of father
17. Present occupation of mother
18. Occupation of father before arrival in Britain
.....
19. Visits to country of origin. State country and length of stay.
Give dates
20. On a separate sheet of paper please give any additional relevant
information about your family.

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